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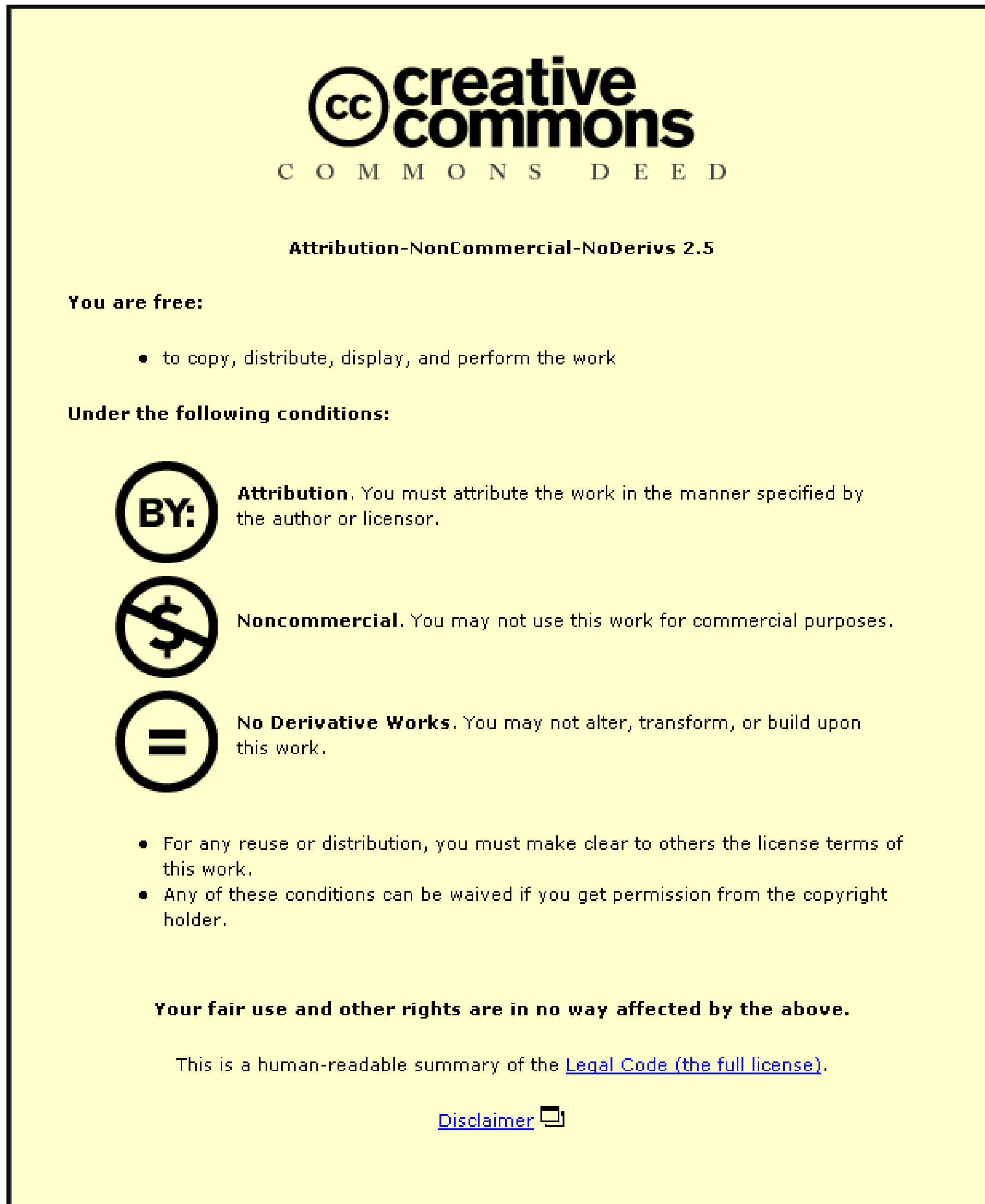
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# The role of social movements in developing public alternatives in urban water services

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by

Philipp Terhorst

Doctoral Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
award

Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

April 2009

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# Abstract

Grassroots social resistance to neoliberal reforms of urban water and sanitation has taken a dynamic trajectory in the past decade, especially in Latin America. The thesis' proposition is that these struggles have undergone qualitative changes. Their previously defensive strategies are developing into propositional strategies that increasingly focus on public and community alternatives to privatisation. This politicisation and movementisation of urban WATSAN is hardly discussed by academic literature, despite it being an emerging opportunity for pro-public sector reform. Thus, the inquiry concerns the role of social movements in the exploration of alternatives to privatisation and looks at transnational networks and local-national struggles. This thesis employs critical ethnographic, participant research methodology. Empirical research took place from 2004 to 2008 and developed an emergent practice of politicised social movement research.

As conceptual framework, the role of social movement in urban water and sanitation is considered as a process of radical reformism and social appropriation. On this basis, the global water justice movement's emergent discursive frame is analysed and found to centre on the democratisation of public water. By means of a comparative typology theory I then analyse local and national-level social struggles and develop the concept of pro-public challenge. Two case studies further elaborate on this type of political process of sector reform. These are the Uruguayan sector reform after a national referendum in 2004; and the case of Peru, where the embedded case of the city of Huancayo developed a public-public partnership as alternative to a planned water utility privatisation.

The thesis develops a meso-level qualitative analysis of the political process of movementisation of sector reform in form of matrices, contingent pathways and contingent generalisations. The central finding is that social movements at transnational and local level develop new roles in pro-public sector reform. Despite substantive impacts, their power to implement alternative paths of development was found to be limited. They run the risk of not meeting all the resulting new challenges posed by politicised participation in sector reform, failing to develop adequate strategies, resources, organisational capacity and expert knowledge.

**Key words:** social movements, urban water and sanitation, alternatives to privatisation, politicised participation, Uruguay, Peru, transnational movement networks.



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**List of Acronyms**

- ABSA -Aguas Bonaerenses S.A
- APDDHH -Asamblea Permanente de Derechos Humanos de Peru
- APRA -Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana
- AWN – African Water Network
- CDASCOP -Comisión en Defensa del Agua y el Saneamiento de la Costa de Oro y Pando
- CNDAV -National Commission for the Defence of Water and Life
- COASAS - Comisión Asesora de Aguas y Saneamiento
- COHRE –Centre for Housing and Eviction
- ConAguaYvida -Comisión Nacional de Agua y de la Vida

**COTAMA -Commission on the Environment**

**CSO –Civil Society Organisation**

**DINASA –Dirección Nacional de Agua y Saneamiento**

**ECOSOC – Economic and Social Council**

**EPS – empresa proveedor de servicio (water service provider –acronym in Peru)**

**FENTAP - Federación Nacional de Trabajadores de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado del Perú**

**FFOSE -Federación de Funcionarios de las Obras Sanitarias del Estado**

**FONAVI -The National Housing Fund**

**FREDEAJUN - Frente de Defensa del Agua de la Region Junín**

**IADB – Inter-American Development Bank**

**IPE – international political economy**

**JASS -Water and Sanitation Councils**

**LFM -Liga de Fomento de Manantiales**

**MDGs – Millennium Development Goals**

**NGO –non-governmental organisation**

**NSM – new social movement**

**OSE -Obras Sanitarias del Estado (Uruguayan State Water and Sanitation Utility)**

**PIT- CNT Plenario Intersindical de Trabajadores-Convención Nacional de Trabajadores**

**POS - political opportunity structure**

**PPP – public-private partnership**

**PRONAP -Programa Nacional de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado**

**PSP – private-sector participation**

**PUPs – public-public partnerships**

**REDES–AT -Red de Ecología Social – Amigos de la Tierra**

**SEDAPAL - Servicio Agua Potable y Alcantarillado de Lima**

**SEDAPAL - Servicio Agua Potable y Alcantarillado de Lima**

**SENAPA -Servicio Nacional de Abastecimiento de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado**

**SMO – social movement organisation**

**SUNASS -Superintendencia Nacional de Servicios de Saneamiento**

**SUTAPAH - Sindicato Único de Trabajadores de Agua Potable de Huancayo**



**SUTESAL - Sindicato de Trabajadores del Servicio de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado de Lima**

**UN – The United Nations**

**UNSGAB – United Nation’s Secretary General Advisory Board**

**URSEA -Unidad regulatoria de servicios de energía y agua**

**UTEA -Unidad Técnica de Apoyo**

**WATSAN –water and sanitation**

**WEDC – Water and Engineering Development Centre, Loughborough University**

**WSF –World Social Forum**

**WSS –water and sanitation sector**

# **1. Introduction**

## **The background**

Grassroots social conflict has been an important feature on the American continent (Vanden, 2007), as diverse struggles are emerging, specifically in Latin America, that resist neoliberal reforms (Heigl, 2007). On the issue of water management, these grassroots struggles have taken a dynamic trajectory in the past decade and are currently confronting significant changes. These changes are the result of the engagement of the social movements in public sector reforms to improve urban water and sanitation (WATSAN) (Bakker, 2007; Balanya et al., 2005; Castro, 2008; Hall et al. 2005; Spronk, 2005).

While the hegemony surrounding the privatisation and commercialisation of water seems to be weakening in many places (Ballvé and Prashad, 2006), the dominance of neoliberal policy and its inertial forces, meaning structural long-term influence, is still operative in water governance and management (Castro, 2007). As a result, community and public systems are still faced with pressures of privatisation, commercialisation and private sector participation while there are hardly any policy programmes or political debates about how best to improve the public and community sector without recourse to these three approaches (Balanya et al., 2005).

Indeed, the future path of development of urban water and sanitation is contested, increasingly so at the fundamental levels of discourse, norms and institutional frameworks. Rosenberger et al. (2003) argue that the key determinant of the path of development is the question as to whether water is to be considered an economic good or a commons. From this follow questions of which is more suited to effectively reform and improve water and sanitation systems, public or private provision? And assuming an actor's perspective, which social actors will determine future policy and practice?

## **The starting point of the thesis**

The three empirical starting points of the research are firstly the social movement actors and transnational networks, secondly the concrete struggles and politicisation of urban water and sanitation, and thirdly the general policy demands of the movements on urban WATSAN. Thus, the legitimising inspiration for the research stems from collective situations of struggles for public urban water and sanitation. I frame these by the notion of a 'globalisation from below'

(Brecher and Costello, 1998), in which new agendas, frames and strategies and finally potentials for alternative paths of development can emerge. I address the phenomena of urban water struggles in terms of their historical development and framing of problems and solutions and thereby start from the conception of social purpose (Stavis and Assetto, 2001). I start from the need to reveal standpoints, values, preferences and capacities of these movement challengers to urban WATSAN, because they formulate a relevant political dimension whose impact can significantly affect political process and consequently paths of development of the field of urban water and sanitation.

Citizens and social scientists are confronted with an elementary conceptual question. Applying Smith's argument (Smith, 1998) to the collective opposition to privatisation and challenges in favour of public water, one can ask if such resistance and challenges are merely harmless accidents and irrelevant deviations of neoliberal reforms that can be rationalised away? Or are they to be recognised "as subversive interruptions that demand a radical re-examination" (Smith, 1998, p.2)? In other words, do we acknowledge the de facto agency of citizens and workers to re-direct the path of development of water services? If one takes the movements for what they say they are, as Emanuel Castells proposes (Castells and Susser, 2002), namely politicised protagonists of effective public sector water delivery, then only the latter of Smith's option is viable.

Consequently, the thesis is based on the assumption that research, water and sanitation sector (WSS) policy and development practice need to sensitise and focus on emerging opportunities for public service reform generated by *movementisation* of water politics. *Movementisation* is a concept that describes the transformation of political processes and structures under the influence of social movements (Jenkins and Klandermans, 1995). Considering the above in the light of recent trends of globalisation, it is judicious to turn attention to the way in which social action develops in transnational public spaces such as the World Social Forum (WSF), as Sen et al. (2004) have proposed, and transnational networks such as "Reclaiming Public Water". More specifically concerning the WSS sector, one needs to ask with Rao et al. (2000) how movement-related policy and practice influence the organisation of urban water supply at local and national level.

## Introducing the problem

Proponents and members of the water movements argue that the political struggle over water is necessary for the achievement of water for all (Barlow and Clarke, 2003). And indeed, the politicisation of urban WATSAN inside and outside of institutional channels of interest-mediation is a particular condition for many WATSAN systems and reform projects. But despite the recognition of the political character of WATSAN (Bakker, 2007; Castro and Heller, 2008; Seppala, 2002), the current state of knowledge cannot explain in how far this has considerable effect on the socialisation or social embedding of WATSAN systems and on the shape and outcome of reforms. I hold up that the political and professional debates on how to substantially improve water services do not recognise or understand the politicised form in which social movements participate in the reform of management and governance of urban water services.

One structural reason certainly is that such debates take place in the socio-political context of current reform agendas for urban water and sanitation, which can be conceived through the looking glass of globalisation and its discontents. Firstly, an evolving global governance of water, which Bronwen Morgan called “global water welfarism” (Morgan, 2006), shapes the debates about the future of public services. More than Morgan’s liberal emphasis suggests, this global hegemonic order aims at determining policy frameworks and at prescribing and enforcing the dominant programmes for structural change of urban WATSAN in the direction of privatisation, public-private partnerships (PPPs) and commercialisation of the public sector. This structural bias is due to the, albeit widely contested, hegemony of commercialisation and private sector participation in water reforms. A more systemic and far-reaching argument, which will not be discussed further in this research (for reasons of time, space and focus) but which is important to take note of, is that more generally the bourgeois-liberal political form of capitalist states and societies and their specific forms in peripheral, development states determine the shape and outcome of sector reforms.

As antipode, opposition and resistance to neoliberal reforms for urban WATSAN occur around the world. A reality to take into account is the emergence of a globalised water movement, which was symbolically affirmed in the declaration of a “Global Water Movement” (Peoples’ World Water Forum, 2004) in January 2004 during an international civil society conference held in New Delhi. It was a result of and represents the strengthening of global networks and manifold local manifestations of water movements across the globe. Empirical evidence on the



failure of neoliberal reforms, though inconclusive, theoretical disagreement, and differences in political interests nurture this resistance and opposition, as do a number of cases of successful reform outside neoliberal paradigms (see for example Balanya et al. 2005).

For these reasons, it is necessary to problematise urban social movements and their transnational networks in terms of the politicised form of participation they engender in the reform of governance and management of urban water and sanitation. The thesis' preoccupation therefore lies in the way in which water movements can have a proactive and constructive role in the reform of management and governance of urban water and what their limitations and barriers are. Such a focus on the political process of social movement politics is a necessary starting point for the consideration of urban water movements at this early stage of research on and with these social movements. The problem to be addressed therefore is in how far urban water movements constitute an opportunity for transforming the path of development of urban water and sanitation. This is an important problem to address because their properties, ramifications and potential and their notion of a progressive, democratised public service remain hidden and little understood so far.

### **The core preoccupation of the thesis**

This thesis critically engages with social movements struggling to, as they call it, democratise public water (Balanya et al., 2005). I investigate their political processes and potential influence on urban sector reform and thereby aim to intervene critically in the organisational field of urban water and sanitation. The research question in this sense inquires into the role and potential of social movements in the emancipatory transformation of public water systems:

***What is the role and influence of the social movements in exploring alternatives to urban water privatisation<sup>1</sup>?***

A more specific research question asks for the political process through which water movements have an impact on progressive<sup>2</sup> urban WATSAN reform.

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<sup>1</sup> Privatisation is used here as a generalised term to describe diverse processes that affect ownership, control and logics of operation of public service delivery that result from asset privatisation, public-private partnerships and the commercialisation of public water operations.

<sup>2</sup> Progressive refers to the anti-neoliberal politics oriented against privatisation, liberalisation and commercialisation of water resources and water services aiming at the democratisation and universalisation of urban WATSAN through public-democratic institutions and delivery systems.



The focus of inquiry lies on transnational networks of social movements (for an overview see Della Porta 2005) and their local materialisations in the form of appropriation struggles (Zeller 2004). These I consider as social movements building counter-power to generate and implement radical transformations (Demirovic, 2007; Poulantzas et al., 2000) of public water systems. The specific aim of the research is to critically support collective learning and reflection of global networks and local struggles.

The relevance of the thesis for WSS practitioners and decision-makers lies in translating perspectives of social movement studies into the domain of participation and vice versa. In order to do so, I employ participatory research methodology and an emerging practice of activist research. In agreement with Laclau and Mouffe (2001), the research breaks with the apparent truths that claim the conjunctural state of affairs to be historical necessity. It does not take for granted the ideological terrain that has been created by decades of neoliberal hegemony. Instead it aims to open windows of perception, understanding and in consequence possibility for the democratisation of public water systems.

### The structure and content of the thesis

The thesis structure is set out visually in Diagram 1. Chapter 1 being this introduction, Chapter 2 contains a literature review on sector specific literature and specifically develops the arguments put forward in critical social science literature on WSS policy. The chapter identifies existing gaps in research and leads in critical social science literature towards the specific research question of this research. It concludes with a

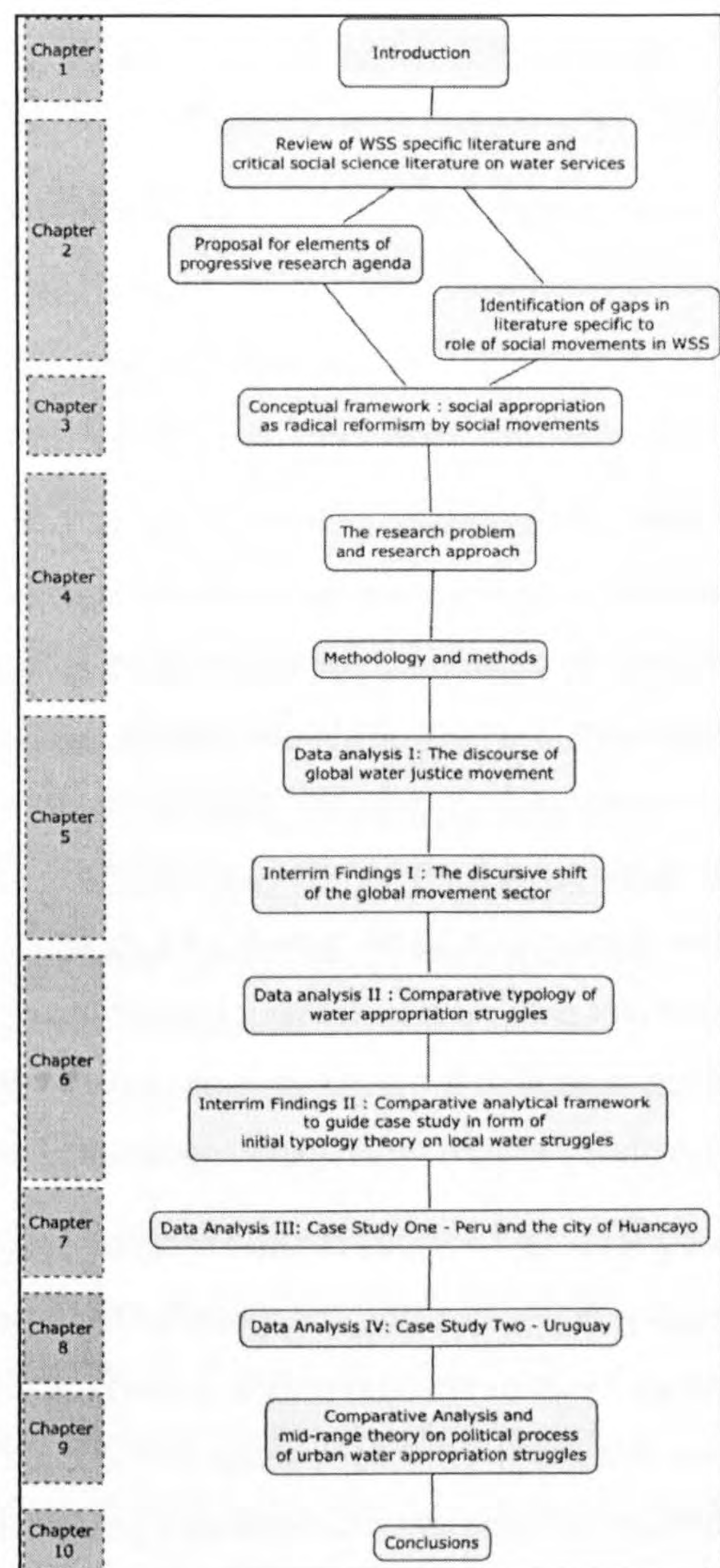


Diagram 1 Overview of thesis structure



proposal for a broad progressive research agenda on democratisation of WSS that frames the more specific preoccupation of this thesis.

On this basis, Chapter 3 constructs a conceptual framework that considers WSS as an organisational field and conceptualises WATSAN by means of material state theory and circumscribes the actions of social movements as social appropriation that involves the radical reform of WSS. Such a perspective emphasises the agency of social movements and aims to reconsider sector reform in terms of politicisation. A framework of politicised participation focuses on constructive partnerships between social movements, water professionals, sector institutions, and policy makers in order to open perspectives of constructing public-democratic paths of development for urban water and sanitation. I do so without losing sight of the contentious nature of social movement intervention.

Chapter 4 explains the methodological choice and the research approach, illustrating the problem statement, explaining the research question and clarifying the research design. A third part of the chapter reviews the emerging research practice as a work-in-progress conceptualisation of a *practice of politicised movement research*.

Chapters 5 to 8 contain the three empirical research steps of global discourse analysis, comparative typology and two local case studies. The examination of transnational networks and their discourses in Chapter 5 identifies a distinctive movement sector that resists privatisation, supports the human right to water and demands the democratisation of public water systems. An interim finding is that at global network level, the movements experience a shift in discourse from a limited anti-privatisation stance towards a propositional and proactive discourse on 'public water'. I locate public water as heuristic discourse and as a counter-hegemonic political project that is under construction in the global movement sector. I develop the argument that these networks are structurally dependent on the effectiveness of localised social movements to protect and appropriate public water utilities.

Having done so, I move to Chapter 6, where I additionally employ public water as an analytical category. In this next step, the thesis further analyses the above mentioned intermediate findings. I employ typology theory to build a comparative framework for local struggles where alternatives to privatisation emerge as discrete demands and concrete political strategies. I thereby inquire into the characteristics, potentials and scope of applicability of localised

appropriation struggles for public water. Chapter 6 develops interim findings that are presented as conceptual inputs to the case studies that follow in Chapters 7 and 8.

In Chapter 7, Peru is an embedded case study where the national policy level and the political struggle around the water utility in Huancayo, in the department of Junín, are analysed. Over the course of the research process, Huancayo emerged as an embedded focal point. On the one hand, the national policy level offers insights into national-level strategies of trade unions and citizen movements to gain policy access and to go beyond defensive campaigns towards a nationally articulated demand for public water. On the other, the case of Huancayo offers a detailed analysis of local politics of utility reform. It sheds light on the role and potentials of local urban movements to challenge privatisation and develop and implement alternative public models. The case study analyses movement organisation, political process, alternative models, to a lesser extent, and international solidarity in the form of public-public partnerships.

In Chapter 8, the case of Uruguay begins with the successful national referendum campaign in 2005 that made water privatisation illegal by constitutional law. The analysis focuses on the process of implementation of the new constitutional norms in state institutions and legislation, and the organisation of water and sanitation delivery.

In Chapter 9 the research findings and results are developed and discussed. These comprise the analysis of transnational movement articulations, the typology theory development and the in-depth case analyses. The primary result is mid-range theory that explores and conceptualises the role and influence of movementisation on urban water and sanitation reform. I synthesise the category of 'pro-public challenge' and thereby offer a systematic framework for the phenomenon of movementisation of urban water politics and the emergence, articulation and implementation of public water alternatives. Considering the domains of participation and governance, the argument put forward is that social movements need to further establish their agency in the form of politicised participation, which is the central concept I develop in order to systemise the engagement of movements in the democratisation of public water systems. So, not only do I develop new insights for participation and social movement studies with relevance to WSS but I also undertake a knowledge-based intervention in the organisational field of urban WATSAN. These insights are summarised in Chapter 10.



## **2. Literature Review: the water and sanitation sector and urban water management**

*Chapter 2 contains a literature review on urban water and sanitation systems and water governance and discusses sector specific literature for its adequacy of understanding the systemic impediments to sector improvement. A review of critical social science literature discusses WSS policy, highlighting issues of sector transformation through privatisation policies since the 1990s. On these bases, the chapter develops a proposal for a broad progressive research agenda on democratisation of WSS that frames the more specific preoccupation of this thesis.*

### **2.1.Approaching Urban Water and Sanitation**

#### **Urban WATSAN**

##### **The Urban**

The urban environment is characterised by density of population, social networks, concentration of space and a variety of economic activities and lifestyles (McGranahan and Marcotullio, 2005). The urban can be understood as a process of socio-ecological change where myriad transformations and metabolisms support and maintain urban life and intermingle material, social and symbolic things "to produce a particular socio-environmental milieu that welds nature, society and the city together in a deeply heterogeneous, conflicting and often disturbing whole" (Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003, 899). Urban space from an ecosystems perspective "does not simply exist, it is instead a social creation" (Campbell and Fainstein, 1996, p.10), one that determines the character of the built environment and that generates specific urban conditions for human life, development and biophysical systems.

Urbanisation is a key global demographic trend and poses serious problems with respect to ecosystems, human well-being and social justice, with distinct spatial dimensions (McGranahan and Marcotullio, 2005). "Within urban areas, the primary issue from the perspective of human well-being is whether the urban settlements provide a healthy and satisfying living environment for residents" (McGranahan and Marcotullio, 2005, p.805). In particular, urbanisation generates serious challenges for water and sanitation services. It brings about a rising demand for urban water and sanitation services by informal networks, small scale providers and centralised utilities (Moretto, 2007) and in developing countries has led to shortages of water resources and basic infrastructure for provision of urban household,

industrial and commercial water supply. Thus, urbanisation and its effects on urban water services will increasingly affect the daily life of urban populations (Khan and Siddique, 2000).

This is especially the case as urbanisation in the developing world is much related to the failure of responsible agencies, which have left multitudes with insufficient and unsafe services while upper echelons of society tend to be serviced by centralised systems (Malama and Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004). In this way, urban water and sanitation produce and reproduce in a material, political-ecological and socio-economic sense the above mentioned complex and conflicting socio-environment of the city. Rapid urban growth and the urban environment assign to cities a fundamental role for development, wherein cities form a locus for civil society organisations that often have to cope with service shortcomings (Moretto, 2007).

### **Defining urban WATSAN systems**

Above, the urban was understood as metabolism and so urban WATSAN is understood as an intermingling of material, social and symbolic things, centred on the institutions, organisations, daily practices, material infrastructure and the environment. The concept of water and sanitation encapsulates water and sewage, whereas the more general term sanitation includes solid waste management (Malama and Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004). WATSAN services and their shortcomings have an impact on the lives of urban populations and are set within economic, environmental, governance and financial contexts (Cavill and Sohail, 2003).

In this thesis, the term urban WATSAN systems is employed to refer to the complex, interwoven and contradictory interplay of political structures, regulative systems and service providers, which can be centralised utilities of different property relations (public and private), informal networks and community-based or local private sector small scale providers and self-help systems. Cavill and Sohail (2003) indicate that municipal authorities are usually responsible for urban services, although various forms of provision, including the private sector, are possible. In addition, urban services can also be the responsibility of other government levels, such as national or regional governments. What is important to note is that generally government roles are central to the provision of urban WATSAN services. And that is the case because they are political and social issues (McGill, 1998).

Urban WATSAN systems are conceptually divided between their management and governance. For the purposes of this thesis, I employ this simple division between management, which refers to the acts of managing a certain utility or informal water infrastructure, and



governance, which refers to broader socio-political forms of regulation and control of WATSAN systems and is explained below in more detail. Concerning water and sanitation, the three interrelated and essential components of water institutions are water law, water policy, and water administration (Saleth and Dinar, 2000; see also Seppala, 2002).

### **Urban water governance**

Urban management was the overwhelming focus in development studies in the mid 1990s and was treated as a new ethos and key approach in urban development (Werna, 1995, p.353). Today, the buzzword governance (Moretto, 2007) has joined if not overshadowed urban management as the predominant approach to urban development (in respect to water issues see for example UNESCO, 2006). The emergence of governance as a key approach to development is discussed by Franks and Cleaver as the "result of a recognition of the changing nature and role of the state in a globalized and interconnected world" (Franks and Cleaver, 2007, p.292). Governance is understood as a distinct form of government where two connotations are important and according to Moretto (2007) enjoy large consensus. Firstly, it is understood to be broader than government and secondly to involve civil society. In relation to urban services, governance highlights the emergence of new modes of engagement of civil society actors and multiple stakeholders in the search for efficient service systems (Moretto, 2007).

Governance provides a way of conceptualizing this emerging network of relationships between different sectors and interests in society, enabling us to analyze how governments, the public and private sectors, civil society, citizens groups and individual citizens forge networks and linkages to provide new ways for society to order itself and manage its affairs (Franks and Cleaver, 2007, p.292).

A critical point in the discussion on the concept of governance is that it can either be a concept in the search for an accurate analysis and discussion of current socio-political developments or it can be a concept that normatively guides and pre-concludes socio-political processes and transformations.

### **Debating 'good governance'**

Indeed, the emphasis on the importance of governance in development thinking is due to the political project of 'good governance' (Moretto, 2007) that includes a normative set of principles (Leftwich 1994) with a neoliberal background such as accountability, transparency and probity (Franks and Cleaver, 2007, p.292). It is a strategy and reform objective in itself and conditionality for donors involving a specific normative connotation (Castro, 2005; Harpham

and Boateng, 1997; Moretto, 2007). Leftwich (1994) traces the 'good governance' agenda as advocated by the World Bank back to the experience of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) in the 1980s and the expansion of the neoliberal approach to include not only economic issues but also specifically political ones.

Good water governance (Franks and Cleaver, 2007) is today embodied in international development targets such as the sector focus of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Ministerial Declaration of the Fourth World Water Forum in Mexico that hold that "the provision of water services for all is beyond the reach of governments and the public sector" (Franks and Cleaver, 2007, p.291). It represents a political project of a neoliberal type of governance, clad in the dress of neutral scientific analysis with the aim of developing new modes of accumulation and regimes of regulation that restructure the sector towards liberalisation and commercialisation of water services.

This involves the definition of what are and how to produce good outcomes of good water governance (Franks and Cleaver, 2007) and how to involve the poor in a governance system. In effect, good governance incorporates the pressure by external donors towards liberal democratisation that tends to be accompanied by privatisation. It is thus a controversial political and administrative means of reform (Moretto, 2007). The concept and political project of 'good governance' are dominant and dominance (re-) producing notions that cannot capture and are indeed diametrically opposed to social movement politics.

### **Governance as neutral analytical tool**

According to Spicer (2007), approaches to governance like that advocated recently by public management authors generally neglect the nature of politics and downplay the inherently political character of governance. The explanation for this detrimental circumstance is that they ignore the conflicts of values and the uncertainty of politics and government (Spicer, 2007). In contrast, governance has also come to stand for a perspective that explores alternatives to hierarchically organised or market-driven systems of urban service provision.

For example, the notion of urban governance, according to Moretto (2007) opened perspectives on "more actors, together with those belonging to the community sector, to be included in this process whilst also bringing attention to the broad range of formal as well as informal relationships amongst these numerous actors" (Moretto 2007, p.346). While this, for urban WATSAN systems, typically refers to affairs like public-private partnerships, which as will



be demonstrated below, are part and parcel of the neoliberal agenda. It nevertheless opens perspectives on the failures of both state and market provisions that have often proved inefficient.

When governance is freed from its neoliberal bias and employed in the search for an accurate analysis and discussion of current socio-political developments, it can open the view and refer to reforms of public water systems through the intervention of urban social movements, as they are problematised in this thesis. But the latter are not typically covered by governance perspectives. This research attempts to redeem this lack of integration of social movement politics and governance for the area of urban WATSAN systems. According to Franks and Cleaver, core concepts of governance have so far not been sufficiently and clearly developed in scientific literature because of the aforementioned neoliberal bias and because governance and water governance issues are also debated under concepts such as rights, integrated water resource management, participation and partnerships (Franks and Cleaver, 2007).

Concepts of governance by Harpham and Boateng (1997) and Franks and Cleaver (2007) are more neutral than good governance approaches and aim at accurate analysis of changing social formations. But they still significantly lack integration of collective action and social movements as particular agents in governance and management of urban WATSAN systems. Nevertheless, they are points of reference for pluralist approaches to governance and allow for perspectives on the action space between governments and civil society as an important element to consider for governance of urban WATSAN systems (Harpham and Boateng, 1997).

A useful and widely accepted definition (Franks and Cleaver, 2007, p.292) of water governance is that governance stands for:

the range of political, social, economic and administrative systems that are in place to develop and manage water resources, and the delivery of water services, at different levels of society.

It comprises a range of systems including government and public services and services provided by other sections of society. In the context of developing countries, urban WATSAN systems indeed, as argued above, are characterised by complex provision structures commonly shared by public, small scale private sector and informal, collective and community providers and self-help systems and resemble systems in that they relate and link to each other through political processes. Water governance delivers "a range of outcomes ('water resources' as well as 'water services'), which go far beyond the management functions of individual organizations

or groups” (Franks and Cleaver, 2007, p.292) at different levels of society. It recognises that outcomes may be different at different levels.

This is an important consideration as it allows for a theoretical understanding that “the poor may need special treatment in the working out of governance systems” (Franks and Cleaver, 2007, p.292). However, there is a lack of understanding of what processes are involved in the relationship of the various systems of governance and how they lead to the level of management of water services and water resources. Issues of localisation and contextualisation need to be, according to Franks and Cleaver (2007), more fully integrated into the thinking about governance systems and their development in local practice.

## **2.2.A sector in perpetual crisis**

### **The failure to meet the Millennium Development Goals**

According to the World Development Report of 2006 (UNDP, 2006), accessibility of clean and safe water to every household has for decades been a main concern for social development. It is also considered in the same report as a basic needs and a social human right. In contrast, Gleick (1998) argues that the 21st century faces one of the most fundamental but unmet conditions of human development: universal access to basic water services. Despite the aforementioned decades long preoccupation by ‘development’, the global access figures on water and sanitation remain roughly constant since 1990 (World Health Organisation, 2000). At the beginning of the year 2000, there were 1.1 Billion people without safe water and 2.4 billion people without access to proper sanitation (World Health Organisation, 2000). And in 2006 the global estimation even increased to more than 1 billion people who are denied the right to clean water and 2.6 billion people who lack access to adequate sanitation (UNESCO, 2007a; UNDP, 2006).

The United Nations established the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in order to confront these major challenges (Plummer and Slaymaker, 2007). Target 10 concerns water specifically: “Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation” (UNDP 2006). Some progress has been made but it has been at a much slower pace and regionally more disparate than projected. Particularly, the lack of progress in the poorest countries is of concern while urbanisation and population growth counteract improvements where they do exist, so that overall access numbers do not improve (Plummer and Slaymaker, 2007). According to the World Development Report of



2006, the prognosis for meeting the MDGs is that while Latin America is broadly on track, Sub-Saharan Africa, the worst off region of the world, will reach the water target only in 2040 and the sanitation target in 2076. The water target will be missed by 234 million people with 55 countries off track. The sanitation target will be missed by a staggering 430 million people in 74 countries. Only because of the progress in China and India is the world on track for the target for water in aggregate global terms. But only East Asia and Latin America are on track for sanitation. The global figures hide substantial regional and national variations (UNDP, 2006).

While the MDGs are merely minimum targets set by the world community, they leave a large global deficit even if they are met. Access to WATSAN services is particularly a problem for urban slum populations, who only have 5 to 10 litres per person per day at his or her disposal. In contrast, middle- or high-income households may use some 50 to 150 litres per day, if not more. More than 900 million people live in urban slums, nearly a third of all urban dwellers worldwide (UNESCO, 2007a).

#### **Sector specific debates on the reasons of the crisis**

For countries off track Plummer (Plummer and Slaymaker, 2007, p.2) relates the scenario to 'fragile states' and identifies the need for action to save lives and to address historical inequalities. For countries on track, the challenge according to the same author is to target regions, communities and households that are marginalised while also sustaining existing service structures' quality and reliability. It is not clear why the division between on and off track countries includes the fact that historical inequalities are a key factor for those off track and not for those on track, as certainly the existing pockets of lack of access concern population groups anywhere in the world who have been marginalised, poor and repressed for a long time (using an expression of Spronk 2007) and thus did not have the means to make their voices and demands heard over other groups. Overall however I agree with Plummer and Slaymaker that it will be significantly harder to reach more improvements as the easily targeted problems have been tackled (Plummer and Slaymaker, 2007).

The failure to meet the MDGs come as no surprise as this is not the first time that international declarations have been made and targets failed. The 1970s and 1980s saw a series of conferences under the slogan 'Water and sanitation for all', which also fell far below the aimed for targets (UNDP, 2006). UNESCO considers the main reason for this failure to meet the MDG's to be that it

addresses the symptoms of inadequate provision of water services and dwindling water resources (...), but root causes are rarely addressed, such as unequal power balances, unfair trade patterns between and within countries, as well as deficits of democratization (UNESCO, 2007b).

The typical framework in which international development aims to effect improvements of WATSAN are, next to official development assistance, the combination of the MDGs with Poverty Reduction Strategies and other international tools and mechanisms. These are galvanised into national water policy reform and local government and sector reforms (Franks and Cleaver, 2007).

Such a traditional development approach does not seem sufficient to address underlying questions of power and social relations. There are strong associations between poverty and lack of access to safe water and sanitation (Blakely et al., 2005) and as a result access inequalities in urban areas are related to the underlying reasons of poverty, which are also about power and power relations. The crisis of access to WATSAN is often due to dysfunctional sector policies and institutions as well as insufficient investment in water services making the crisis of access improvement a crisis of governance (Plummer and Slaymaker, 2007; UNESCO, 2007b). The failure to meet the MDGs can be read as a failure of the approaches to governance that underline the MDGs. Similar to the limited reflection in the canon of academic work on the MDGs, the failures of WATSAN service development in general are not adequately reflected upon.

### **A critique of sector specific debates**

WSS literature tends to be fully embedded in the dominant discourse community of the organisational field of urban WATSAN. Castro argues that such specialised WSS literature fails to criticise mainstream WSS policies or to highlight external factors and conditions that affect WSS (Castro, 2007). In this way sector specific literature can in fact pose a barrier to important debates about structural impediments of WSS because it remains restricted within a framework of thinking about water management, governance and policy that is set by international organisations such as the World Bank, not least by their international publications mentioned above. At the same time as drawing out in detail the inadequacy of urban water and sanitation provision, which is to be welcomed, international organisations like UN-Habitat set the dominant or hegemonic frame in which these debates of technical and technocratic character take place.



The typical frame of argument in general underestimates the seriousness and scope of the problem of urban water services and that the posture of governments and international agencies is not sufficient (compare UN-Habitat, 2003). Factors that hinder improvements of urban WATSAN are typically discussed under the headers of poor management, inefficient investment, social inequalities and dysfunction of politics (World Health Organisation, 2000). Overall, there is a clear identification of the barriers as institutional and political. “(T)he barriers to improved provision are not so much technical or financial but institutional and political” (UN-Habitat, 2003, p.xvii). But these sector specific approaches fall back on positivist research and technocratic arguments despite recognising the political dimensions. The lack of input into this field by critical research on geography, political ecology and political sociology is striking.

This in effect means that an understanding is perpetuated that holds the urban WATSAN crisis as a crisis of governance that can be addressed by development intervention in the form of state action and international commitment to act. The reliance on good governance and established international development norms and mechanisms are fundamental pillars in this regard. This demonstrates that the recognition of the crisis of governance is only a superficial recognition of political issues rather than a full consideration of politics and politicisation. It is not understood as an overall crisis of water governance that requires a total rethinking of development and approaches to water governance, as I would suggest is necessary.

### **The resulting inadequacy of policy**

This assessment needs to be considered in relation to the question about the appropriateness of policy, which is related to the socio-political and institutional situation a policy is applied to and the attitudes and perceptions of the involved actors. This means that the concept of appropriate policy is not universal and cannot be generalised. The policy must be appropriate to the particular social, environmental and economic context in which it is implemented. With regards to water and sanitation policy, the implementation of policies has not been very successful (Seppala, 2002). This is attributed to the difficulty of changing “informal institutions such as attitudes, human and organizational behaviour, codes of conduct and behavioural patterns” (Seppala, 2002, p.369). Adequate policy development and institutional frameworks and implementation and donor strategies need to take into account the fact that much water and sanitation policy has not been appropriate. This relates especially to the plans for implementation of policy in relation to institutional frameworks.

What needs to be taken into account is that "(p)olitical, institutional and social questions are often more difficult and challenging than technical ones" (Seppala, 2002, p.374). Water policy development is inherently political and requires political will to drive the process. High-technical skills are a requirement for adequate and successful reform but political endorsement and support are key elements in policy development and recognition of political conflict over water is crucial for successful policy and its implementation. "Water policy development and reform is primarily a politically- not technically-driven process" (Seppala, 2002, p.379). Sector reform depends on institutional change and its elements. It entails an incremental change and long-term path of change, for which appropriate policy is required. Indeed, policy making in water and sanitation is directed towards the institutions and organisations of the sector but on the basis of good governance approaches and the hegemonic framework in the field and as such is unlikely to un-freeze policy failure.

### **2.3.Gaps in current sector specific literature**

While literature recognises the difficulties of existing water sector structures, processes and to a lesser extent politics, research in general remains oblivious of contextual factors and the broader generalised questions on the social meaning, political embedding and political ecology of urban WATSAN in capitalist, peripheral and development states. Especially sector specific literature often neither recognises nor understands urban WATSAN as a conflictive field of capitalist production and reproduction and therefore cannot perceive the contested nature of WSS. In consequence, the historical choice between neoliberal sector reform, perpetuated public sector malfunction in capitalist peripheral states and the struggles and development dynamics for the democratisation of the public sector are not seen.

While responsibility of public authorities for WSS and urban WATSAN systems is widely recognised, their embedding in social structures and thus socio-political process is not sufficiently heeded. The recognition of the crisis of governance in WSS only occurs through a superficial recognition of political issues. The hegemonic frame of debate does not allow for full consideration of politics and politicisation. This results in the detrimental scenario where water institutions of law, policy, and administration are not investigated in the light of the nature of politics and the inherently political character of governance. In result, research tends to ignore the conflicts of values and the uncertainty of politics and government. Nevertheless, debates on governance have opened the way to reforms of public water systems through the



emerging network of relationships between different sectors and interests in society, including intervention of urban social movements.

What is required is the taking account of political, institutional and social questions in WSS and urban WATSAN reform. Even pluralist approaches to governance still significantly lack the full integration of contentious collective action and social movements as particular agents in governance and management of urban WATSAN systems. This is despite the fact that they are necessary for the full appreciation of the action space between governments and civil society. In particular the contextualisation of such action spaces for poor and repressed populations is least understood.

## **2.4.Critical voices on water and sanitation sector policy**

### **The limitation of sector specific debates**

The literature review suggests that the ongoing crisis of urban WATSAN cannot be grasped by positivist (research) agendas that are predominant in WSS specific literature. Hukka and Katko's (2003) argument resonates this finding and argues that the complexity of water management means that positivist research is inadequate. Instead, it perpetuates existing power relations and tends to be part of the dominant political project of neoliberalising water. It is a barrier to change in the organisational field because it leads to a neglect of critical issues such as ecology, politics, power relations and structural factors affecting and affected by WSS. Positivist research does so in the context of competition between rival political projects:

To a large extent, ongoing debates about the most appropriate institutional arrangements to deal with water and sanitation have little to do with ecological processes or social practices. Water and sanitation services are subject to rival political projects rooted in different principles and value systems (Allen et al., 2006, p.338).

While some sector-specific authors do recognise conflict and politics as fundamental features of water systems and recognise the need for adequate institutions to confront the political realities (i.e. Braathen, 2006), this tends to occur in the specific form of what Jessop calls naturalising neoliberalism (Jessop, 2002, p.468). Thereby, globalisation, competition and technological change are depersonalised and appear as natural, unchangeable conditions. The result is that people and decision-makers seemingly have no choice but to adapt to these dominant agendas. Positivist research perpetuates this lack of choice by failing to develop critical knowledge.

Such processes of naturalising neoliberalism in WSS are visible in the debate about the ongoing failure to overcome the water and sanitation crisis, as was shown by the example of the governance debate in WSS. Jessop (2002) describes that blame for economic and social problems, such as the WATSAN crisis, is attributed to localized problems and ineffective local administration instead of being debated, as should be the case, as result of capitalist relations and structural factors. Such clearly takes place in WSS debates and academic literature (for the most part at least), where the failure to meet the MDGs for example is held to be a conjunctural problem of water governance rather than the result of the capitalist relations that underline the water sector. The detrimental result is that the deep politicisation of urban WATSAN as object of struggle and "the economic, political, and social forces that drive these processes" (Jessop, 2002, p.468) are hidden and thereby excluded from the debate.

### **Going beyond sector specific debates to capture water neoliberalism**

In contrast, critical science literature on WATSAN considers the structural reasons for the WSS crisis in the existing capitalist-developmental societies and the resulting social contestations in terms of democratic movements (Castro, 2008; Hall et al. 2005; Morgan, 2005, 2006; Spronk 2005, 2007), rights approaches (Davidson-Harden et al. 2007; Morgan, 2004), political-economic (Bakker, 2003a, 2005; Budds and McGranahan, 2003; Castro, 2007; Castro et al. 2003; Morgan, 2007), geo-political (Davidson-Harden et al., 2007), community-citizenship (Bakker, 2008), and political ecological perspectives (Bakker, 2003a, 2005; Budds, 2004; Köhler, 2008; Swyngedouw, 2004). These approaches develop a cogent critique of the conceptual weaknesses of neoliberal sector approaches (for example Bakker 2005) and maintain that the last decades saw a neoliberal restructuring of the water sector that by force sought to liberalise, privatise and commercialise the sector.

Castro (2007) argues, on the bases of the conclusions of a broad research project (PRINWASS), that this neoliberal restructuring was not focused on solving sector problems but was biased to neoliberal ideology and neglected historical dimensions and lessons. In addition to the arguable failure of PSP policies, neoliberal restructuring of the sector generated structural impacts in the form of "inertial forces" (Castro, 2007, p.105) that continue to influence the sector in the long run, thereby creating new obstacles for the universalisation of WATSAN services.



Indeed, neoliberalising water should be understood as a political project from above that seeks to implement a post-Fordist, neoliberal accumulation regime in the water sector. It aims at the disembedding of water systems from their socio-public contexts and their dis-appropriation into the capitalist economy; thus creating new markets, accumulation opportunities (private investment) and new means of controlling economic development. This occurs through the dismantling and weakening of existing sector structures (roll-back) and the extension of new forms of water governance, management and control (roll-out neoliberalism) (see Peck and Tickell, 2002 for an explanation of roll back and roll out neoliberalism).

### **Preoccupation with anti-neoliberal forces in the field**

Davidson-Harden et al. (2007) description of the global water justice movement understands it as a counter-hegemonic movement of water justice. Correlating with this, the dichotomy between the dominant project of neoliberalisation of WSS and the counter-hegemonic movements from below has been recognised by Bakker (2003b), Castro (2005; 2008), Spronk (2007) and Morgan (2005). Morgan (2005) explains this with consumer politics that generate struggles against the routinisation of private sector participation and the emerging neoliberal global governance approach the author refers to as “global water welfarism” (Morgan, 2005, p.382). As Castro points out, this was in fact an act of force, as neoliberal policies were pushed with militancy against resistances (Castro, 2007). The field is shaped by conflict, struggle and disruption (Morgan, 2005), which Köhler (2008) argues are about the dimensions of resource conflicts, political ecological and neoliberal accumulation.

Davidson-Harden et al. (2007), Köhler (2008) and Morgan (2005) argue that there is a struggle over meaning that Budds (2004), Köhler (2008), Swyngedouw (2004a) and Balanya et al. (2005) argue to fill with a critical re-definition of water as public good, the commons and a human rights approach. Castro (2007) points out that anti-privatisation movements did not solely develop on a frame of anti-corporatism but multiple factors have led to widespread opposition, such as the authoritarian style of implementation of PSP, the absence of participation, corruption and the growing evidence of the failure of privatisation. Castro goes on to argue that the anti-privatisation movement is more than anti-corporate in the sense that it is positioned against the mercantile social relations that are being embedded in the water sector (Castro, 2007).

## Identifying the gaps in knowledge

Given the alerted preoccupation with the capitalist expansion into the water sector, what has been lacking also in critical social science literature is deliberation on the capitalist socialisation of water in public and community institutions and the systemic role of public service delivery in capitalist (re-)production. One reason is that the critique of water neoliberalism falls back, necessarily so, on a defence of Fordist state structures and thereby runs the risk of not sufficiently understanding the role that the state and public services play in securing capitalist economies and political stability. What is required therefore is critical re-evaluation of the role of the state and the type of state and community required for progressive public water systems.

In addition, the counter-hegemonic struggles are understood to pose new challenges as they generate an impetus for change from below that so far they have not been able to meet. Castro argues that social movements need to “take charge of the unmet promises of renovation and expansion of infrastructure ” (Castro, 2007, p.108) while Harden et al. argue that social movements need to meet the exigencies of a new geopolitics of water by articulating a “commons-based water management approach” (Davidson-Harden et al., 2007, p.32) alongside a human rights approach and thereby assume power in the redefinition of water policy that they read as a “current struggle for hegemony in the definition of water” (Davidson-Harden et al., 2007, p.31).

In this regard, Bakker (2008) argues that the social contestation generates a renewed reference point of the community and argues for ‘alternative community economies of water’ that overcome the public-private divide and can develop a commons approach on the basis of the articulation of anti-globalisation frames. Castro (2007) argues that the universalisation of WATSAN requires the re-affirmation of principles of universalism and strong public sector intervention focused on supporting local authorities and communities. Köhler (2008) recognises that there exists a wealth of alternative experiences of social appropriation of public management forms and argues that these need to be further developed and explored through political practice.

All these different concepts and approaches to a new, progressive understanding of water and social movements as protagonists can be summarised by what de Angelis (2007) coined as ‘new value practices’. This concept positions these approaches outside of capital relations and



understands them as dependent on organisational proposals and processes of transformations. Morgan argues that such perspectives on struggles integrate the politics of consumption and production (Morgan, 2006, p.412) but finds that:

This history creates an apparent opportunity for social movements to play a co-equal role with powerful market actors in debates over how to embed markets in broader social policies that temper their harshest distributive effects. Yet what eventuates in the South African case is not productive collaboration, but instead fractious parallel trajectories of legislative change and social protest that occasionally intersect but largely co-exist in uneasy tension.

Despite her reservations, Morgan argues that movement actions can potentially alter the understanding of public policy issues and address political representation issues in a way that has prevented global water welfarism, in other words the neoliberalisation of water services, to materialise in state institutions locally. Morgan's perspective on consumer politics is limited however as it expects social movements to adhere to the logic of consumer politics instead of developing their own frames of rights and social justice demands and ends by lamenting that the figure of the consumer does not resonate at a political level and with social movements.

Despite the weakness of the concept of consumer politics, this analysis shows that grassroots politics can have an impact on the water sector in a way that counters the institutional and organisational impact of water neoliberalism. But whereas literature on functioning public alternative models has grown in recent years (Balanya, 2005; da Costa et al., 2008; Hall, 2001, 2003, 2005), there is hardly any literature that goes beyond the abovementioned generalised, conceptual and heuristic treatments of water struggles.

While some informative case studies on the processes of water struggles exist (for example Morgan, 2006; Terhorst, 2003; Spronk, 2007), there is so far no sufficient academic preoccupation on how social movements are to meet and are meeting the demands and expectations they raised themselves. This is exactly the gap of knowledge both in WSS specific literature and critical social science literature on water that this research identifies and aims at filling: the political process and means by which social movements aim to meet their demands and self-imposed expectation of delivering new models of public-community water through counter-hegemonic struggles. Their existence is an accepted fact but their detailed analysis remains an open task.

## **2.5. Proposals for research on democratisation of water sector policy**

I now develop a proposal for research on democratisation of WSS policy. These recommendations draw on the insights of the reviewed literature in this chapter. Its function for the thesis is to contextualise my research problem and specific research approach. The proposal I aim to develop in this section encapsulates a broad agenda of research on public-community water, social struggles and alternatives. It is based on the recognition that WSS specific literature so far is inadequate in this regard and that critical science only offers a broad frame of reference. It is a framework by which I aim to argue for a change in scientific preoccupation. It is also a tool to articulate and locate my research in relation to other research projects and ongoing political debates. Before turning to the agenda itself, I develop a series of inputs by post-Gramscian International Political Economy (IPE), material state theory and organisation theory.

### **Explaining the rationale**

Research should understand urban WATSAN as an organisational field that is contested and into which research intervenes. In contrast, today the problem of research on urban WATSAN is that it tends to be based on liberal assumptions, is positivist, scattered and disconnected from global debates on politics, of which it is itself an integral part. I argue that this is because liberal research approaches do not recognise the historical choice between neoliberal sector reform, perpetuated public sector malfunction in capitalist peripheral states and the struggles and development dynamics for the democratisation of the public sector. Research cannot take for granted current forms of socialisation of WATSAN.

I argue that research is required that investigates public WATSAN sector reform without recourse to privatisation and commercialisation, not the least to better support the social forces that are working and struggling for public water. But also to fill the serious gap in scientific knowledge about existing public and community water sector structures, processes and politics. For example, research on public-private partnerships (PPPs) is plentiful (see for example Braadbaart, 2005; Hodge and Greve, 2007; Savas, 2000) whereas research into public-public partnerships (PUPs) is rare and far between (some examples are (Lobina and Hall, 2006; Hall et al., 2005), despite the fact that there are more PUP projects in more countries than PPPs (Hall et al., 2009). What is not present enough is critical social science research that understands WATSAN in its form determination by social (class) struggle and goes beyond



technocratic limitations of sector specific literature. Some exceptions are Bakker (2003a, 2005, 2007), Castro (2007, 2008), Köhler (2008), Swyngedouw (2004) and Spronk (2005).

### **Post-Gramscian international political economy as research guidance**

Progressive research needs to create and employ knowledge about the contextual and field-specific conditions for development of public water. It should consider the programmatic input of Post-Gramscian IPE by Bieler and Morton (2003). These authors propose a research route that leads from the hegemonic sector policy via policy failure to the positions of social actors in the ensuing conflict. Research along this typical approach is common for example in research on privatisation and liberalisation (see for example Braadbaart, 2005; Prasad, 2006).

In order to move beyond this more reactionary than heuristic research, another set of proposals by Bieler and Morton (2003) is deemed more suited and indeed underlines the programmatic structure of the proposal. It starts from the failure of neoliberal sector reform and moves to the role of the public (state and non-state) sector, the history and emergence of anti-privatisation struggles and their positions in social constellations, and leads to the consideration of the influence and impact on urban water and sanitation by social movement politics. This does not only mean turning to the history, forms and claims of urban water movements and their impact and results but also to study the state forms they engender and aim for, the governance and management structures they require and how these relate to political and political-economic developments in capitalist society overall.

From an actor's perspective, this includes the question of what social movements on urban WATSAN are, how they act politically, how political processes evolve, what forms and contents of public service delivery they can produce, with what consequences on statehood, development cooperation, governance and management; and what sort of social change and public authority organisational change processes these require. And what this means for politics, political change and political representation and participation in the urban WATSAN sector, so how all this relates to political theory, social movement theory and political sociology and theories on organisation and institutions.

### **Material state theory and organisation theory as guidance poles**

From a material state perspective (see Chapter 3 for further explanation of state theory), urban WATSAN needs to be considered in its elements of social relations of production, state forms and as part of a hegemonic order. That enables research to locate new social formations

that are engendered by social movements on the basis of their creative forms of resistance. Potential alternatives within the given conditions of hegemony or changes in hegemonic constellations can thus be captured. Such a research programme would hence orient itself on the question of how certain social forces attempt to construct public water as counter-hegemonic project and what the potentials are thereof to transform the path of development of urban water and sanitation. This necessarily requires macro investigation but should take into consideration more prominently the “front lines of organizations” (Rao et al. 2000, p.277). In order to approach the micro-level of these political and social processes, social movement approaches need to be combined with perspectives on organisational change and institutional analysis.

### **Proposal of content for a research programme**

Urban WATSAN research can and should be policy-related but has to develop knowledge through critical scientific intervention, while also communicating to social and political forces in society. One element here is that it should recognise the need for support for social movements in the specific policy environment of urban WATSAN. For that, research has to turn to outright political questions and address social conflict around urban water as a constituent element of urban WATSAN. A holistic research programme on democratisation of water services can be circumscribed broadly by the elements of:

- dilemmas of current sector policies and their relation to broader hegemonic formations, regimes of accumulation and societal contestations
- theoretical development of water and sanitation as a common good under (direct) democratic public control
- emancipatory norms, rights and discourses on public water and sanitation as a common good and human right
- failures, deficiencies, capacities and potentials of existing public systems
- social and political movements, their political processes and impacts, from local to transnationalisation perspectives
- social movement (failure to) produce new forms
- emerging forms of public and community service delivery
- process of transformation and organisational change of public authority structures (legislation, policy, administration) and of social embedding of WATSAN systems
- elements of and results of democratisation of urban WATSAN systems

- implications for development policy, governance and management of public services, and emancipatory politics

### **Relevance in the organisational field**

The agenda needs to link local, national and global perspectives and needs to be able to bridge research communities of traditional urban WATSAN research and critical post-Marxist research. It requires a social milieu of debate in academia and exchange between movements, academics and professionals. A recent example of how such a perspective for a critical research agenda has been taken up in water and sanitation research is the Municipal Services Project in South Africa (<http://www.queensu.ca/msp>), which initiated a consortium after the research endeavour underlining this thesis had identified the above presented progressive research approach.



### **3. Conceptual Framework**

*Chapter 3 develops the conceptual framework of the thesis, beginning with the concept of organisational field. WATSAN is then positioned within post-Marxist state theory. In section 3.3 I develop the notion of politicised participation that I link to social movement studies in section 3.4. Here, the focus lies on new social movements, their perspective of changing organisational practices and the concept of movement impact. Having established the field and the actors, I move in section 3.5 to the concepts of institutional reform and policy reform. These different elements flow into the overall frame of radical reformism of the sector in section 3.6. The chapter ends with a summary of the conceptual frame of sector transformation by social movement intervention.*

#### **3.1. The organisational field of urban water and sanitation**

From the perspective of field analysis according to Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1986; see also Munck, 2000; Peillon, 1998; Reay and Hinings, 2005), urban WATSAN and WSS can be considered as an arena of struggle. Its central stake lies in the determination of the discursive and material structure of service delivery and the built environment of the natural water cycle. The field is autonomous in the sense that it is distinct in its dynamics and trends, practices and identities (Maton, 2005) but also interrelated and subordinated to other fields, such as the economic or political (Bourdieu, 1986). The determination of outcomes in the field, the way WATSAN services are structured, occurs via power relations of actors. The positions of actors in the field are related to their pursuit of resources, norms and practices (Peillon 1998). Networks of social practices are understood to define what is intellectually and culturally legitimate in a specific field (Munck, 2000). Therefore, the field of urban WATSAN constitutes as site of knowledge contestation.

While Bourdieu's concept focuses on discursive practices of actors and their material outcomes (Bourdieu 1986), the more limited definition of organisational field by DiMaggio and Powel (1983) focuses on the industrial elements of a field, consisting of "a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products" (DiMaggio and Power, 1983, p.143).

These two definitions of field are applied in congruence to conceptually circumscribe urban WASTSAN, with the result that WATSAN becomes a distinct object of study in itself, opening

the view on the question of how the actor coalitions and hegemonic discourses are structured as a result of power relations within that field. Thereby, change within the field itself can be considered in its relational aspects, as WSS itself turns into a site of struggle over knowledge, types of capital, actor positions and outcomes.

### **3.2. Water systems as a structural ensemble of the state**

#### **Introducing material state theory**

A neo-Marxist theory of the state associates the state with the specific qualities of capitalism as a mode of production and attributes a central role to class struggle and the process of capital accumulation (Jessop, 2008). While state theory approaches have been criticised for being centred on developed nation states in the political North, analyses have also been successfully undertaken on peripheral formations, such as Latin American states (see for example Heigl, 2007).

I draw on Bob Jessop's strategic-relational approach (Jessop 1990) and Poulantzas' state theory (Poulantzas et al., 2000). They are centred on the notion of social relations of force, meaning that the state is understood as a social relation. Thus, theory considers "the complex relations among the state apparatuses, state power, capital accumulation, and its social preconditions" (Jessop, 1990, p.25). Its aim is the analysis of historic-concrete state configurations, which are understood as structural and institutional products, or materialisations, of "past class struggles" (Jessop, 1985, p.309). In consequence, the state is considered as a strategic field and as a strategic process and as such is a strategic, historical and conflictuous form of the political that is in constant contingency and openness (Jessop, 2008).

It is this relational approach, I argue, that is of particular interest for the state-theoretical consideration of urban WATSAN systems. The specificity of the capitalist mode of production and its conditions of existence and their effects on social formations are integral elements of Marxist (state) theory and are indispensable elements for the deliberation of (state-) public service delivery systems, such as urban WATSAN. With material state theory one can conceptualise urban WATSAN systems in their specific form and content as (capitalist) state structures and considers how differential state structures develop, how they are adequate for and reproduce the continued accumulation of capital in different situations (Bretthauer et al. 2006).



State theory understands capitalist statehood as historically contingent and a constantly moving, structurally selective condensation of social relations. It is a perspective on dominance with which one can study the materiality of capitalist states and their role in the condensation of relations of force that are poly-centric (Bretthauer, 2006). In this line of argument, the state, its materiality and selectivity is a condensation of social relations of power that constitutes and stabilises economic class relations and has a specific function in the multi-scalar process of bourgeois-capitalist domination. In short, the state acts in structural selective ways to reproduce capitalist relations of force. I will explain these concepts and their value and function for the conceptual framework shortly below.

### Explaining its concepts

Nicos Poulantzas (Poulantzas et al., 2000) and Bob Jessop (1990; 2008) understand the state as material *condensation* of social relations. *Materiality* of the state refers to the structure of institutions, organisations, discourses and means of action in the ensemble of state apparatuses. So the materiality of the state is set in its *institutional ensemble* that is the result of the historic-concrete crystallisation of past struggles. The configuration of state apparatuses is the expression of institutional materiality of the state wherein the apparatuses are seen as a fractured ensemble, where each apparatus is the seat of specific interests. Hegemonial fractions of the bloc in power have more chances to anchor their interests in the state apparatuses, especially so in those central to capitalist accumulation.

The *functions of the state* can be systematised by the notions of the form of intervention, form of representation and internal structure of state apparatuses (Poulantzas et al., 2000). State apparatuses have operational functions and are interdependent but stand in conflict to each other in the institutional ensemble. This means that apparatuses' internal and external relations are determined by dilemmas and contradictions and their unity is constantly at risk as their autonomy is driven by self-closure, competing interests and struggles (Jessop, 1985).

The concept of *relative autonomy* as developed by Poulantzas (Poulantzas et al., 2000) exposes the structural contradictions and dilemmas involved in the dialectic between operational autonomy and functional interdependence of different orders of apparatuses in the institutional ensemble. Jessop considers more fully the overdetermination of state power and "the deeply problematic functionality of the state apparatus and state power" (Jessop, 1990, p.102) in the institutional differentiation of state ensembles. Here, the relative weights of

different institutions and social forces are the factors by which to determine specific outcomes in a complex and changing conjuncture (Jessop, 1990).

State apparatuses have a certain dynamic on their own, which I have defined as institutional materiality. This is marked by a specific *strategic selectivity* (Jessop, 1990) that denominates the determination of priorities by the state that are embedded in the state institutions. These are overdetermined by contradictions and competing interests (Bretthauer, 2006a). This selectivity reproduces class relations and relations of production and affects the positionality and power of actor strategies in conflicts, favouring the hegemonisation of projects of the bloc in power and disorganises the project of the dominated classes (Brand and Heigl, 2006, p.284).

In addition, the differentiation between *state structure and state power* is crucial. State power is considered as social or class power that is constituted and mediated through the state. It is over-determined by crisis, contradictions and interests and is substantially different from the institutions of the state. State power derives from the ability of social classes to implement their specific and objective interests through the state apparatuses. It is therefore an effect of class, social and /or popular democratic struggle that is mediated through and conditioned by the institutional ensemble of the state (Jessop, 1990, p.45).

It is also important to note that *state objectives* do not lie in the solving of social contradiction but in their regulation. In that sense, the capitalist relations and its contradiction are not resolved but merely regulated by the state. For Jessop at least, this is a relational and therefore contingent circumscription. The relevant insight remains that the capitalist state is a condensation of social relations of forces and itself is a terrain of struggle that needs to be transformed (Brand and Heigl, 2006). This is especially the case if the reproduction or extension of capitalist relations into new areas of society, such as public water systems, is to be addressed by movement politics.

Regarding *economic functions*, state theory argues that the state has a specific role in the economy and the economy a specific role in the state. Generally speaking, the role of the state is to secure and reproduce the external relations of production (Barrow, 2006). The state and the economy are constitutive of each other and the state, as a space and process of reproduction of capitalist relations, has specified apparatuses to meet its economic functions. The state's economic functions materialise in the specialisation of economic state apparatuses (Bretthauer et al., 2006).



*Peripheral state formations* have specific characteristics that are relevant factors for water systems. Heigl (2007) argues that these are structural and political heterogeneity, dependency on external elites, capture of local elites by external interests, a less inclusive form of Fordism in the periphery (exemplified by the low level of extension of Fordist-style centralised utility systems in the South as compared to the North), and a crisis point of inequality and economic crisis as consequence of neoliberal restructuring. Other factors of importance in peripheral formations are clientelism, lack of administrative sophistication and capacity and resources, and the existence of types of publics that are not state-bound, such as community structures.

### **The state as terrain of social struggle**

Considering the above, social struggles need to be understood in relations to state power and the materiality of the state, thus moving into perspective that the state and its single apparatuses are terrains of struggle that competing interests aim to capture, control and transform. The state is the main target of different strategies of social actors (Brand, 2007) but is characterised by a resistance to change of specific state apparatuses and the ensemble as a whole. This is due to the embedded relative or strategic autonomy of the state. An important factor to consider in this regard is the state's practical supremacy of knowledge and discourse that is crystallised in the state's organisational framework (Poulantzas et al., 2000). The significance of relative autonomy of the state however also involves the fact that institutions and organisations as *crystallisation points of social relations* can also be *crystallisation points of counter-hegemony*, the latter I will explain further below. This can occur when counter hegemonic projects achieve anchorage and stabilisation of their projects (Brand, 2007).

So, state apparatuses can be anchoring and stabilisation points of projects, projects by the state itself, the bloc in power or counter-hegemonic movements. This entails the fact that change in relation of forces can occur through conventional means such as elections but also through non-conventional channels that can all affect the structural ensemble of the state in different ways. So the structural selectivity combines with openness of conflicts, which also means that actors go through learning processes and can therefore transform. The fundamental insight of the above presented state theoretical considerations is that the state is not a neutral instance outside the external relations of production and social relations of force. Instead, the state is a fundamental element of the reproduction and regulation of capitalist relations. It is an institutional space that, by being a crystallisation point of class relations and struggles, is a terrain of social struggle itself (Demirovic et al., 2002).



The above mentioned assumption that the state is the institutional crystallisation of past class struggles also means that structures of the state feed back into the process of class struggle and shape its course of development. Hence, approaches to state theory lend themselves to analysis of spaces of social movements and political movements directed at and against the state. Such a perspective can focus political reflection at the ambivalences and limits of reformist politics, understanding reform not only in negative restrictive but also a positive sense. That is the case, as argued for by Demirovic, because of the neoliberally restructured post-Fordist capitalism and its crises dynamics prevalent today (Demirovic, 2007). It is important to note that the capitalist state is therefore defined by contradictions and crises (Hall in Poulantzas et al., 2000). In a non-instrumentalist point of view, the state is a set of complex articulations of politics with economic forces that stand in a mutual presupposition and interdependence on the institutional level (Jessop, 1990, p.30).

### **Urban WATSAN from a state theoretical perspective**

The field of urban WATSAN can be considered as an economic function of the state and therefore determined in its form and content by the socio-political determination as public service, which occurs through socio-political (class) struggle and contestation. This determination is considered in material state theory as the condensation of social relations. So from a state theoretical perspective, urban WATSAN systems are necessarily part of a fractured and contradictory but constantly unified ensemble of state apparatuses that are overdetermined by struggles, interests and contradictions. Urban WATSAN thus is a terrain of struggle to which the bloc in power and oppositional forces in society direct their respective projects and aim to anchor and stabilise them.

At the same time, water and sanitation systems as public state apparatuses reproduce the external relations of production as they fulfil the economic function of the state. The forms of state apparatuses, interventions and internal functioning of the state in the organisational field of urban WATSAN need to be understood as a historic-concrete development of the modern interventionist state that was transformed in the course of Fordist and post-Fordist periods of development. Their function it is to secure the continued organisation of social relations in favour of capital accumulation. According to state theory, they can be expected to do so by selectively securing the interests of capitals and class (fractions) but doing so on a contingent and conflictual basis.

Bob Jessop argues that it seems that “the state is trapped within the capitalist mode of production and cannot escape from its contradictions and crises” (Jessop 1990, 36). The same then is true for public water systems, where the embedding of control over production, distribution and consumption and rights of access to public services are determined through and on the strategic field and process of the state. This terrain of the state is structured through the embedded economic institutions of the state in the provision of public services. According to the material state theory of Bob Jessop (2008), which is noticeably influenced by regulation theory, this relates to the mode of production and systems of regulation and thereby establishes the terrain in its dependence of and influence on the overall accumulation regime.

According to Poulantzas et al. (2000), the historic-concrete materiality of single state apparatuses is connected to the specific weighting of bureaucratic forms, legal procedures, nationalistic discourses and individualisation and homogenisation. These are the basis of the material practices of dominance exercised by the state (Poulantzas et al., 2000). Strategic selectivity, the relative autonomy of urban water and sanitation systems and its functional materiality are therefore analytical categories with which one can approach public water systems from a state theoretical perspective.

Urban water and sanitation systems, since they are state systems, need to be understood as acting in structurally selective ways to reproduce class relations and relations of production. Brand argues in general that at present, structural selectivity is affected through institutional restructuring towards a privatisation-oriented selectivity. This affects the power to have an impact by the different actor strategies in privatisation conflicts (Brand and Heigl, 2006, p.284). The reproduction of domination also occurs through and within water delivery systems and is related to the stabilisation of social relations of force, through (class) compromises, and the reproduction of external relations of production.

Public water systems are therefore conceptualised as ensembles of economic state apparatuses with specific materialities, selectivities and condensations of interests, that are overdetermined by contradictions and interests through the articulation of struggles and hegemonic projects directed to and established within them. What is required is the application of these general theoretical concepts of neo-Marxist state theory to a depth of focus adequate to single state apparatuses. Such micro perspectives of state theory are required to apply state theory say to an organisational field, like urban WATSAN, or a single



apparatus, like a public water service provider or a vice-ministry for water and sanitation. Changes in social relations of force that affect the provision of WATSAN can thereby be treated as material condensation in single economic apparatuses and their organisational matrices and their specific position in the institutional ensemble of the state. Dominance and the reproduction of capitalist relations in the form of a public water company are then expressions of historic-concrete materialisations of past class struggles that have inscribed themselves into the WATSAN field's structure, behaviour and discourse.

This leads to the insight that on the one hand social forces, such as social movements, are the determinant factors that constitute the embattled character of water service delivery systems. On the other, the materiality of the state structures of the water sector can now also be understood as, at least partially determining the conditions of action for political and social subjects. Köhler employs a political ecology approach and argues with Poulantzas that since power in this context is about the control of the nature of others, then "material and institutional arrangements of processing water flows" can also be "considered as material condensations of social relations of power" (Köhler, 2008, p.114). In short, urban WATSAN systems are institutions that have ordering influence on society (Köhler, 2008).

### **Transformation of the state**

Brand und Heigl (2006) ask how the current strategies of left movements can affect changes in the terrain of the state itself. According to Poulantzas "it is necessary to consider the principles of the restructuring of state spaces" (Poulantzas and Demirovic, 2002, p.44). State transformation can occur through centres of opposition that aim at the reconstruction of the state matrix. This depends on the successful social anchoring of counter-hegemonic projects that change relations of forces and change state power. They can thus create new forms of apparatuses and forms of intervention. The strategic struggles need to inscribe into the institutional materiality and affect aspects of bureaucracy, law, and nationalist narrative. From a material perspective, the key is the transformation of the embedding of the mode of production, which depends on economic and extra-economic factors. This requires action inside and outside of the state. A condition thereof is that movements build coalitions with state personnel. This means in final consequence the transformation of the form of the state itself (Blog Archive, 2007).



Thus from this point of view, water privatisation is a change in state form and accumulation regime. It is one form of intervention of the post-Fordist regime within one certain policy field or productive area. Pro-public approaches as considered in this thesis in turn are also attempts at transformation of the state through intervention in and change of state-society relations. They therefore need be considered as impact of social movements on statehood and in particular (state) public systems of public service provision, which I aim to conceptualise by politicised participation in the following section.

### **3.3.Politicised participation**

Participation is a key concept within several sub-fields of international development, including decentralisation, social capital and social movements (Mohan and Stokke 2000). For some authors, participation in the common sense means the de-politicisation of development in order to further neoliberal structural objectives ((Mohan and Stokke, 2000; Hickey and Mohan, 2003). Cooke and Kothari (2001) coined the term 'tyranny of participation' to warn advocates of participatory development of limitations and pitfalls and thereby strongly voice concern about the concept of participation but without dismissing participation throughout. Hickey and Mohan (2005b) assert that although participation is often a depoliticised concept, it can - given certain conditions - be linked to genuinely transformative processes and outcomes for marginalised communities and people.

Addressing the problems of power, politics and agency that have beset some approaches to participation, the concept can be transformed so as to capture its value for emancipatory perspectives. I encapsulate this in the term politicised participation. The starting point for the critical re-politicisation of the concept of participation is the concept of citizen participation (Gaventa and Valderrama, 1999) and a critique of the concept of participatory development as proposed for example by Chambers (1983; 1997). By acknowledging that adverse trends, vested interests and the pervasive self-interest of the powerful have persisted (Holland 1998), it is possible to point to the political dimension of participation in terms of the convergence, and influence of peoples' agency and their participation in development interventions.

Addressing "questions of legitimacy, justice, power and the politics of gender and difference" (Kapoor, 2002, p.101), Hickey and Mohan (2003; 2005a; 2005b) relocate participation within a radical politics of development and employ citizenship concepts in order to generate a perspective of citizen and popular agency in participation.

On the basis of such a politicised perspective, the concepts of political space and popular agency are streamlined into the participation approach employed in the thesis. The concept of political space has three analytical dimensions. These are the institutional channels of the poor to access policy formulation and implementation, the political discourses in which poverty and its reduction are significant, and the social and political practices of the poor that may influence decision-making and policy (Hickey and Mohan, 2003). Gaining insights from Bruns (2003), participation is considered to require new capabilities and new institutional arrangements. Politicised participation is employed as conceptual frame for the analysis of movement interactions in sector reform processes. It yielded clarity to the analysis of movement interactions in sector reform processes.

The focus of politicised participation therefore lies on citizenship and state-society relations and requires conceptual advances that consider popular agency beyond top-down or pre-arranged interventions under the header of participatory governance or development. It brings together participation and popular agency and points to the need for new capabilities and new institutional arrangements.

These considerations for the concept of politicised participation echo Bruns (2003) notion that collective and autonomous action by citizens are necessary elements for the consideration of participation. Thereby, the de-politicised nature of the liberal and populist traditions and the instrumentalist, neoliberal application of participation are opened to critique and change. What moves into focus are the links between participatory development theory and political action and the ways in which new political spaces are imagined and constructed. Here it is noteworthy that state-society relations are to be considered rather than state and civil society distinctions maintained (Mohan and Stokke, 2000).

It comes as no surprise that participation concepts rarely refer to or clarify in depth how social, collective actors participate. Despite the fact that social movements are considered to play a key role in extending citizenship status and rights to marginal groups (Hickey and Mohan, 2003) they cannot be excluded from perspectives on participation. Nevertheless, "development theory and practice has been wary of engaging directly with social movements, preferring the more orderly and 'makeable' world of NGOs" (Hickey and Mohan, 2003, p.24). The authors go on to argue that "(i)n the developing world social movements have emerged as a form of socio-political agency in the pursuit of transformative forms of participation" (Hickey and Mohan, 2003, p.25).



Social movements in this perspective are an associational form of popular participation, whereby Hickey and Mohan (2003) mean that social movements engage with political parties or international NGOs. I suggest that this associational form also applies to social movements engaging in state apparatus of water service delivery, a water utility for example.

### **3.4. Conceptualisation of social movements**

#### **The process approach to social movements**

Social movement scholars, sociologists and political scientists, explain social movements with a plethora of theoretical ideas (Byrne, 1997). Oliver (2003) points out that social movements cannot be studied as a whole at once as they are “too big, diffuse, shifting” (Oliver, 2003, [s.l.]) to consider simultaneously various aspects such as motives, historically-determined social-economic forces or inter-organisational dynamics. Byrne (1997) offers a categorisation of four approaches to social movements and also Meyer (2003) and Eschle (2001) follow similar lines of division in their reviews of movement literature. In broad terms these categorisations are the classical approach, resource mobilisation, political opportunity structures, and new social movement theories. A now classic combination of all but the last approach has been developed under the header of the process model of social movements (compare Eschle, 2001; Giddens et al., 2001). Rao et al. (2000) call this an emerging consensus in the social movement literature based on the proposition that “the ability to bring about change depends upon framing processes, mobilizing structures, and political opportunities” (Rao et al., 2000, p.242).

#### **New social movement theory**

New social movement (NSM) theory (for a general overview see Wignaraja, 1993; Todd and Taylor, 2004; Rhodes, 2006) addresses the type of actors that concern this research. It has been applied to social movements such as the civil rights and feminist movements, antinuclear and ecological movements, and gay rights campaigns (Giddens et al., 2001). The alter-globalisation movements that have emerged in this decade are also characterised by new social movement dimensions. New social movement literature focuses on social and cultural change (Buechler, 1995). Following what Giddens et al. (2001) called the cultural approach, new social movement theories do not directly oppose other approaches but can work alongside the above mentioned process model of social movements. New social movement theories point to profound changes in recent activism and argue that “social movements result



from, and contribute to over-arching changes in the structure and nature of advanced industrialised societies” (Byrne, 1997, p.35).

New social movements have a number of features that make them distinct from other forms of what Spicer et al. (2005) consider as organisational resistance. These authors draw on different proponents of NSM, such as Melucci, Blaug and Scott, to summarise four distinctive features of new social movements.

The first feature is the focus on cultural innovation which is considered a political production of varying values, symbols and identities. In other words, a new social movement struggles for cultural recognition and justice in aspects of race, gender or the environment. Spicer and Böhm refer to this as the “infra-political production of social relationships, symbols and identities in multiple situations of the everyday” (Spicer et al., 2005, p.15). Infra-political refers to the expansion of the realm of ‘the political’- away from traditional articulations of politics. In the words of Melucci: “The action of movements deliberately differentiates itself from the model of political organization and assumes increasing autonomy from political systems” (Melucci, 1996, p.8f).

The second distinctive feature identified by Spicer et al. (2005) is their lack of formal, hierarchical modes of organising. In its stead, organisation is marked by grassroots, local level network structures that mobilise resources on an ‘ad hoc’ basis. Flexible and adaptable new social movements feature periods of high and low activity that are bridged by fluid hierarchies. They are purposefully anti-authoritarian (Spicer et al.2005) in the sense of opposing local consequences of political decisions at the higher level (Scott, 1990).

Thirdly, new social movements are characterised by their avoidance of the modern institutionalised spheres of politics. NSM do not aim to reproduce traditional hierarchies and resist hegemonies, hierarchies and other dominant organisational practices. Such a new anti-institutional orientation is based on the active avoidance of the liberal political universe and bureaucratic ethos that creates a separated institutional political sphere (Spicer et al., 2005).

Politics, instead, becomes a form of ‘rhizomatic movements’ that coordinate their actions, intervene in a particular situation of social struggle and bring about change. The rationale is that new social movements are seen to be able to challenge established orders precisely because they organize differently” (Spicer et al., 2005, 16).

The focus on micro-politics is the last feature of NSM that Spicer and Böhm draw out. It refers to the engagement of struggles in every-day life (Spicer et al., 2005). These four features of

new social movements, namely cultural innovation, non-hierarchical mode of organisation, anti-institutional political style and micro-political level of focus, are pronounced not only as distinctive characteristics of movements but also as foundations of the type of social change envisaged by new social movement theory. The mode of organising for example is not merely a means towards social change but also an end in itself and tends to be seen favourably by theorists of new social movements. In that sense, NSM theory describes the phenomena while also containing heuristic elements on social change and its proposition.

### **Urban social movements**

Given the focus on urban WATSAN, an important concept for this thesis is derived from Emmanuel Castells (Castells, 1983), who maintains in his theory of urban social movements that a crisis in urban services has the potential to mobilise and unify producers of urban services and consumers to defend service provision. Social movements in this perspective are powerful alliances, gathered across classes and around issues of collective consumption. The central argument is that “urban social movements have been among the sources of urban forms and structures throughout history” (Castells, 1983, p.xix). Castells distinguishes urban mobilisation in two forms. Firstly, urban protest movements that are solely concerned with improving a service. Secondly, urban social movements where failing urban services potentially lead to a challenge to formal political processes and social relations. The distinctive difference between the two contents of mobilisation is political consciousness (Castells, 1983).

A basic notion of social movement studies is that of contentious collective action. Contentious collective action is an act of people with relatively little power, seeking new claims and challenging the power that be. Rhodes (2006, p. 18) explains that collective action:

becomes contentious when it is used by people who lack regular access to institutions, who act in the name of new or unaccepted claims, and who behave in ways that fundamentally challenge others or authorities.

According to Castells (1983), urban social movements require a political consciousness in order to create contentious politics. According to Walton (1998), urban collective action is expressed in struggles over labour, political rights and also public goods, such as water and sanitation. These issues vary in salience in different periods of development and under specifiable conditions lead to collective action of urban social movements, which varies in form and intensity and thus level of militancy. In the current period of neoliberalism, he suggests that struggles are mainly for political rights.



Walton (1989) mirrors NSM theorists in the position that inclusion and political rights are the predominant content of today's urban social movements. This scenario has given rise also to conflicts over the rights to and adequacy of public services, such as water and sanitation in urban areas. This trend of political rights struggles combining or leading to issues of public need and rights to public services can be identified across the world. According to the cautioning remark of Cavill, "there are many arguments that negate that failing urban services lead to radical social change in practice" (Cavill 2005, 54). And Bond mentions three variables that are important in reference to urban social movements: "(...) the form of urban organisation, the style of mobilisation, and the durability of the democratic process within the movement" (Bond, 2001, p.8). Bond goes on to suggest that in South Africa there are "important impediments to the maturation of urban social movements as forces for broader socio-economic transformation" (Bond, 2001, p.8).

Notwithstanding these theoretical impediments and cautioning empirical evidence, Castells' analysis of urban social change in "The City and the Grassroots" remains pertinent because it links the conscious actions of people and the process of urbanisation by pointing:

at the sources of historical structures and urban meaning, and to discover the complex mechanisms of interaction between different and conflicting sources of urban reproduction and urban change" (Castells, 1983, p.335).

Ward and McCann suggest that in the current era of "global neo-liberalization, and with new social movements' ongoing struggles in the cities of the global north and south, it may be the case that (these) contributions are now more relevant than ever (Ward and McCann, 2006, p.190).

### **Social movements from an organisational theory standpoint**

Organisation theory and social movement theory are both middle-range or meso-level theories and have historically influenced each other. For example, social movement theory has been influenced by institutional theory, organisational ecology, and social network theory (Swaminathan and Wade, 2000). Organisational theory emphasizes how new organizational forms are produced, for example by technology, but also looks at the role of cultural innovation. In this line of thought, social movements are important sources of cultural innovation (Rao et al., 2000).

As Otto points out, resistance is often merely thought of as disruption to efficient management or policy that needs to be eliminated (Otto, 2005). Otto argues from an emancipatory



perspective that this view is elitist and neglects the voice of people and workers with the purpose of maintaining broader hegemonic discourses and power relations. According to Otto, mainstream literature of management studies needs to be criticised because it adheres to market logics and pathologises resistance. Also, labour process theory, which builds on the binary of worker/industrialist and focuses on organisational misbehaviour such as vandalism, needs to be evaluated critically on the grounds that it neglects the complexities of power relations and subjectivities. What is required is recognition that organisations are tied into wider social, historical and contextual circumstances (Otto, 2005).

Scholarly works like Rao et al. (2000) and Swaminathan and Wade (2000) look into the conditions under which social movements create new organizational forms. By doing so, they expand the theoretical reach of neo-institutionalism. Rao et al. (2000) address the question of how social movements and collective action create new organisational forms. They draw a conflictive portrait of the construction of new organizational forms and link social movements, organisational change and institutional analysis for the micro level of organisations in industry. This resembles a cultural approach to social movements that derives from the insight that social movements draw on cultural repertoires for images and definitions of what constitutes a problem or an injustice, to mobilise and organise and to derive particular policy and institutional changes. Their approach emphasises how cultural innovation by social movements creates new organisational forms and thereby develops further the notion of institutional entrepreneurship. This perspective also applies to larger cultural and social contexts, called organisational fields (see section 3.1), which are understood to influence social movements and influence the reactive politics that social movements generate.

The construction of new organisational forms is conceptualised as a political process in which various forms of collective action, especially social movements, play prominent roles (Rao et al., 2000). Such a political perspective moves beyond technological or transaction cost considerations of neo-institutionalism and addresses how authority is challenged and restructured by collective means.

(N)ew norms, values, and ideologies are infused into social structures via political contestation, (...) institutional entrepreneurs and activists play key roles in framing new practices, mobilizing resources (including constituencies), and garnering legitimacy for new forms (Rao et al., 2000, p.275).

Eschle in her work attempts to answer if “movement complexity points toward the need to rethink existing democratic frameworks” and if that is the case, “precisely which movement

goals and aspects of movement structure could contribute to the reconstruction of democracy?" (Eschle, 2001, p.3). The important question that Eschle (2001) asks is whether established traditions in social and political thought are capable of taking on board the different organisational manifestations of movements. This is also the significant question for approaches of water management. Can water management and participation capture movements in their diversity in existing frameworks?

## **Framing**

The actions and processes of social movements are facilitated and structured by the convergence of models of interpretation, which are considered as interpretive frames (Della Porta and Diani, 1999). Such movement frames attribute meaning to an interpretation and analysis and thereby are "'schemata of interpretation' that enable individuals to 'locate, perceive, identify, and label' occurrences within their life space and the world at large" (Goffman as quoted by Della Porta and Diani, 1999, p.69). A discursive, interpretive frame of a social movement is thus a generalised, standardised and predefined structure of interpretation

Scholars employ 'frame analysis' to learn about the social meaning of movements' discourses. Thereby, they identify different types of frames and strategies of frame development (Della Porta and Diani, 1999). One nomenclature sets out that frame bridging links movement frames with public opinion, whereas frame amplification further defines and articulated and interpretation that otherwise remains confused or vague. Frame extension in turn incorporates specific concerns of movement constituencies while frame transformation denominates the process by which movement frames are made more coherent with dominant values and codes in public opinion. Another division distinguishes between anti-system frames, realignment frames, inclusion frames and revitalisation frames (Della Porta and Diani, 1999, p.82):

- anti-system: radical transformation of the polity
- realignment: restructuring of political systems on the basis of new collective identities, without de-legitimisation of the established actors of a polity
- inclusion frames: rhetorical emphasis on the recognition of new political actors as legitimate members of a polity, affecting the composition rather than structure of political system
- revitalisation frames: entering existing polities and organisations to redirect their goals in a scenario of little POS



## **Transnationalisation of social movements**

### **Transnationalisation**

Another key aspect of the conceptual framework of the thesis is the concept of transnationalisation of social movements. This is a crucial element of the research endeavour as it moves the perspective of research between the levels of the so-called global water justice movement and local-national struggles in Uruguay and Peru.

The concept, as it is employed by Walk and Brunnengräber (2001), allows for the consideration of the complex interlinking of political fields and the expansion of the environment in which political activity takes place. Transnationalisation is located above the nation state and below international politics while international politics remains a state function. Following Walk and Brunnengräber (2000), transnationalisation can also be located in the three divisions of the political, that are policy, polity and politics. It is a relevant concept because globalisation, in addition to a shift from Keynesianism to neoliberalism at the ideological level, has been defined as the transnationalisation of production and finance (Cox, 1981).

Changes in international order can involve power shifts and norm change. Transnational nonstate actors are understood to be crucial for such a creation of new norms and discourses. Transnational advocacy groups can initiate processes of norm shift. Changing discourses at the margins of transnational politics can in some cases lead to significant policy change (Sikkink, 2002). Especially where international regimes require legitimisation in front of the public, as is the case in water management, problem treatment through policy in international regimes is understood to be more porous to civil society interaction. This increases where soft norms are addressed in contrast to hard norms of global society (compare with argument of Khagram et al. 2002 on international norms).

### **Transnationalisation of social movements**

A neo-Gramscian analysis argues that the above mentioned change of production structure in recent decades, related to the internationalisation of production and economic globalisation, has led to the emergence of new collective actors, i.e. transnational social forces of capital and labour (Bieler and Morton, 2003). Such a transnationalisation of activities of nonstate actors adds a global level to the national and increases the interlinking of political fields of activity and expands the environment in which activity takes places (Walk and Brunnengräber, 2000). Thus, the concept addresses the emergence of new collective actors at the global and transnational



level and considers the shift of arena of action between the global and the local in form of trans-local, global interrelations. Khagram et al expect collective actors in transnational spaces to “continue to expand in numbers and importance” (Khagram et al., 2002, p.ix).

Transnational networks are associated with a wide range of meanings and a range of responses (Radcliffe, 2001) of mostly NGO actors attempting to change norms and practices of states, international organisation, and private sector firms, sometimes successfully sometimes not. Identity formation in collective action at this level is affected by opportunities created by international institutions and alliances that provide them with resources for putting pressure on their targets. Identities facilitate the formation of transnational public spheres around certain issues (Guidry et al., 2000). However, conditions for their emergence are difficult because homogeneity required for framing processes are not given in transnational spaces and identity development for transnational collective actors has to occur despite the lack of mobilising structures (Radcliffe, 2001).

Transnational collective action is a maker and manager of meaning and norms (Khagram et al., 2002) but one with relative weakness because transnational nongovernmental actors’ ability to influence often relies on “use of information, persuasion, and moral pressure to contribute to change in international institutions and governments” (Khagram et al., 2002, p.11). This weak power means that these actors revert to moral justification around particular normative demands. This entails that collective actors must develop a collective belief. In the transnational arena the international norms can be part of the resources or political opportunity from which actors develop collective beliefs. Once in place they empower and legitimate transnational networks and coalitions, which in turn promote them. Also, networks serve as teachers of norms to states and stress the constructive aspects of the norms, also in defining what the state is. One way the teaching of norms occurs is by internationalising domestic policy disputes (Khagram et al., 2002).

## **The impact of social movements**

### **Movement impact**

A central feature of the conceptual framework is the concept of movement impact. It is an integral part of the case study analyses. It considers that the outcomes of social movement events need to be appraised by more differentiated means than simply movement success or failure.

This reflects an expansion of the limited focus on success (did movements get what they demanded?) to intended and unintended outcomes, short-term and long-term effects, and different types of effects (normative, policy, institutional). In general, the literature identifies a lack of preoccupation with the outcomes of social movements (compare Amenta and Young, 1999; Giugni et al., 1999; Kriesi, 1995). This is the case specifically on institutional impact on public administration, which can be perceived according to the notion of social movement – state relations. This needs to be broken down into a perspective of sub-state level authorities for different levels and types of state institutions. It is important because of the question of whose fragmentation of authority across bureaus, departments and committees and the disjointed stages of actions and decision in policy making and implementation that is typically not sufficiently taken into account.

### **Classic approaches to movement impact**

Following William Gamson's now classic scheme devised in *Strategy of Social Protest* (Gamson, 1975), Jenkins and Klandermans (1995) focus on political access and agenda setting (or 'acceptance') as well as specific policy gains (or 'new benefits'). They expanded Gamson's system to incorporate structural change in the state system itself and alterations in the political system as a whole. At the core of their argument is that political opportunity structures (POS) are central to the emergence and development of social movements and that the state shapes the conflict and alliance system that shape social movements, the latter being agents for social change. Jenkins and Klandermans (1995) focus on the three-way struggle between social movements, political parties and the state and acknowledge a fourth dimension of citizens and understand the parties as part of the political representation system.

Major themes of their approach are the origins of social protest, political opportunity structures, system transformation and outcomes. They "focus on ability of movements to bring about political and social change as well as to alter specific policies and governmental



practices” (Jenkins and Klandermans, 1995, p.6). Here the effects on the state and political administration are considered in a broad range of bargaining perspectives (Burstein et al., 1995). Five types of movement success can be conceptualised: acceptance, agenda access, policy victories, output response (or satisfying the grievances of movement activists), and structural change (Jenkins and Klandermans, 1995). Previously the focus had been on access and policy change alone and ‘thinking small’ (Gamson, 1975) is still important but broader measures of success are required to better reflect the aims of movement activists.

The most profound type of movement-initiated change according to Jenkins and Klandermans (Jenkins and Klandermans, 1995) is the transformation of political systems with a focus on democratic transition. A more process-related impact is ‘movementisation’ of politics, as was identified by Misztal and Jenkins (1995), whereby the relations of the state, political systems of representation and civil society change in a way that increases the role and importance of social movement action.

### **Critique of conventional concepts**

Whereas the above-mentioned typical types of movement success (acceptance, agenda access, policy victories, output response, and structural change) are relevant and useful concepts, it is important to note that the impact of challengers and their collective action in democratic politics is only rarely studied (Amenta and Young 1999). One important work is that by Giugni et al. (1999), who take up the issue of how social movements matter. They review social movement studies’ occupation with the outcome of movement activity and present the case that more theorising and empirical work is required.

They also suggest to go beyond the typical movement success considerations, like those of Gamson, and to include non-intended consequences and to broaden the spectrum to larger social and cultural effects and to avoid the search for invariant models “in favour of an approach aimed at reconstructing the causal paths that link observed changes to the role of social movements in producing such changes” (Giugni et al., 1999, p.xxii). Outcomes are defined cogently by Oliver (2003) as not only policy but also institutional while other types of impacts are also considered as of importance.

For the definition of the consequences of social movements, Giugni et al. (Giugni et al., 1999), review three problems that have hindered the effective elaboration of movement consequences in scholarly work. These are success/failure, policy outcomes, and the problem

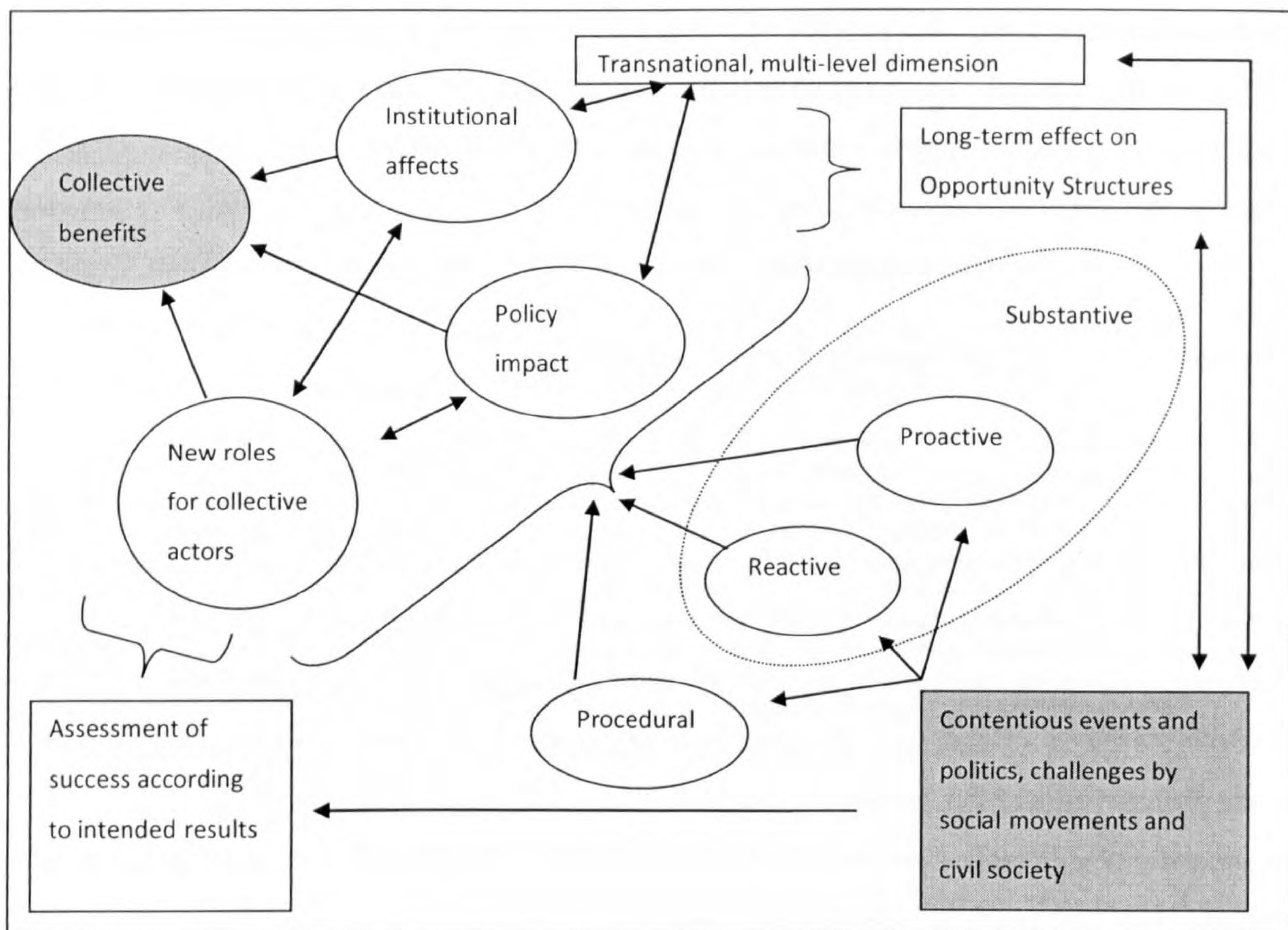
of causality. The same authors argue that shortcomings in theoretical clarity derive from a “tendency to look for convenient yet nonexistent invariant models of collective action” (Giugni et al., 1999, p.xxii). They go on to address the issue of durability and direction of change, which are fundamental in analysing the impact of movements of social change. The issue of direction discusses the relevance of movements for democracy and democratic improvements.

### **A more comprehensive approach to movement impact**

Resource mobilisation and new social movement theories see social protest as inherently political and have offered many useful concepts on the politics of social protest but they do not develop a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between states and social movements. Nor do they examine the interests and structures of the state itself. Having said the above, a systemisation with more concrete focus on specific governance and management institutions within state and political systems needs to be developed to allow for a proper explanation of the problem area of this research. In order to do so, I developed a specific conceptual understanding of movement impact that is systemised in Diagram 2. It is to serve as a conceptual framework for the analysis of movement impact, in addition to the considerations on the types of impact by Jenkins and Klandermans (1995) presented above.

As summarised in Diagram 2, movement events can lead to procedural and substantive impacts, which differ in that procedural impacts affect only the political process while substantive impacts affect the political results of a given process. These can lead to policy changes and institutional restructuring and can ascribe new roles to social movements. The effects of these changes then can lead to influences on collective benefits. Also, the movement impact scheme developed for the conceptual framework considers that there are long-term effects on the political opportunity structures.





**Diagram 2 Visualisation of impact of contentious politics**

(Sources: Kriesi (1995) for characteristic of impact, Giugni et al. (1999) for types of impact, Jenkins and Klandermans (1995) for aspect of transnational POS, and Kitschelt (1986) for changing POS)

Kriesi (1995, p.172f), drawing on Gamson (1975) and Kitschelt (1986) explains that:

Procedural success opens new channels of participation to challengers and involves their being recognized as legitimate representatives of demands. Substantive success involves changes of policy in response to the challenge.

Kriesi also puts forward the distinction within the category of substantive success between proactive, implying the introduction of new advantages, or reactive, implying the prevention of new disadvantages. Policy-making power is only reached in pro-active substantive impact of social movements, which is very difficult to reach in any type of state, whereas procedural success and reactive substantive success are more easily achieved in weak states than in strong ones. The problem, according to Kriesi however, is that in weak states there is likely to be little capacity to implement the required policy changed derived as proactive outcomes of mobilisation processes (Kriesi, 1995).



From Kitschelt (Kitschelt, 1986), the category of success in the form of structural impact is drawn, which implies a transformation of the political opportunity structure itself. In the short run this may be quite impossible in most states but long term cumulative impact may be possible. Social movements generate issues and agendas and these are picked up by formal representation systems. Jenkins and Klandermans (1995) argue that relatively little is known about that sort of process.

In addition, new roles for collective actors can emerge through the policy impact and through institutional affects. Social movements thereby create new action repertoires, thus altering the relations of citizens to the state and to the party system (Barnes, 1979). These new repertoires are related to new roles. Diagram 2 also shows that success of movement impact needs to be evaluated according to the intended results of the movement actors themselves. In addition, the diagram sets out a transnational, multi-level of the impact.

### **The urban water movement sector**

Social movements are powerful alliances, gathered across classes and around issues of collective consumption (Castells, 1983). Water movements, here meaning urban social movements relating to water service delivery, are understood for the purpose at hand in an expansive sense: as those actors who struggle over and demand the protection of the public character of water and the human right to water in opposition to privatisation and commercialisation of water services.

I propose the conceptual category of an 'urban water movement sector' (see Klein, 2001 for a corresponding use of the term 'movement sector')) that in this case incorporates transnational, national and local NGOs and trade unions, and local and national social movement organisations as the primary actors. Secondary actors can be, amongst others, sub-elements of state administrations, such as a public water utility, and non-state actors such as foundations, research institutes, and epistemic communities. They form 'mixed actor coalitions', an abstraction that points to the complexity of involved organisations, epistemological differences and forms of action (Khagram et al., 2002). These mixed actor coalitions are categorised according to their different levels of interaction and organisation. According to Khagram et al. (2002), transnational networks are based on information exchange, transnational coalitions on coordination of tactics and transnational movements are understood to be based on joint mobilisation.



Urban water movements appear in the context of a crisis in urban services and, as suggested by Castells (1983), are unified by a common mobilisation and political consciousness. They are autonomous political actors whose emphasis is on the organisational change of the public sector. Argued with Rao et al. (2000), the focus of the urban water movement sector is the behaviour of industry, in this case water and sanitation services, and related political structures and processes. A basic feature of these movements is a non-hierarchical mode of organisation, notwithstanding traditional unionism as key driver in many struggles. Their purpose of public services reform, in other words cultural innovation of urban services, however means that they are inherently linked to formal political institutions of the state. One consequence is that the micro-political level of a single utility is interwoven with global governance. And this means that water conflict is primarily a localised issue, governance systems of public services are embedded at national and increasingly international levels in the complex web of global water welfarism (Morgan, 2006). This expansion of their scope of relevance is reflected in the expansion of the localised nature of struggles to a transnational networking character of the water movement sector.

The movement sector constitutes its own institutional ensemble that combines resources, repertoires and forms of political action and unconventional interest articulation. Movement politics in these structures is autonomously institutionalised, thus creating what Roth and Rucht (1991a) called an intermediary space. New social movements can through their own materiality generate a space that can intermediate and link to state hierarchies, generating a political form of movementisation-based institutionalisation that can articulate with the institutions of the state. As Klein (2001) pointed out, the formation of new political forms by new social movements stand in relation to the question of the conjuncture with a political public and state institutions. Radical reformist politics thus relate the state as contested site of institutionalised politics.

### **3.5. Institutional change and public policy reform**

#### **Policy in the water sector**

It is important to note that sound policy making is a prerequisite for institutional change and for successful water policy implementation. Indeed, policy making in water and sanitation is directed towards the institutions and organisations of the sector. Sector reform depends on institutional change and its elements and incremental change and long-term path of change, for which appropriate policy is required.

With regards to water and sanitation policy, the implementation of policies has not been very successful (Seppala, 2002). This is attributed to the difficulty of changing „informal institutions such as attitudes, human and organizational behaviour, codes of conduct and behavioural patterns" (Seppala, 2002, p.369). What needs to be taken into account is that "(p)olitical, institutional and social questions are often more difficult and challenging than technical ones" (Seppala, 2002, p.374). Water policy development is inherently political and requires political will to drive the process. High-technical skills are a requirement for adequate and successful reform but political endorsement and support are key elements in policy development and political will necessary for implementation. "Water policy development and reform is primarily a politically—not technically—driven process " (Seppala, 2002, p.379).

### **Institutional change**

Institutional change in water and sanitation systems affects the three interrelated and essential components of water institutions, which are water law, water policy, and water administration (Saleth and Dinar, 2000). According to North (2005), institutional change depends on the stability characteristics of institutions, the sources of change, the agent of change, and the direction of change and path dependence. Seppala argues that institutional change is a complicated process that involves formal and informal institutions and institutional incentives. Therefore, institutional change can be considered as a result of interaction between institutions and organisations (North, 2005). Correspondingly, the focus of the research was the interaction between sector institutions and social movement organisations.

### **The conceptual basics of policy reform**

The public policy reform process was also taken into account for the conceptual framework. Standard approaches to policy making (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002; Birkland, 2005) consider policy cycles as a series of steps. Policy design is followed by the enactment of a policy, policy implementation, policy evaluation, and policy learning. Policy design occurs in the context of the political system and given policy processes. It is based on the elaboration of certain policy goals and policy targets. Policy implementation can lead to the desired outcomes in case of policy success or not in case of policy failure. The challenge for policy is to meet the goals set for them "while remaining sufficiently resilient to weather political change, resistance to the policy as implemented, and group conflict" (Birkland, 2005, p.189).



Malama and Kazimbaya-Senkwe (2004) argue that implementing policy reform is controversial as it creates winners and losers. Brinkerhoff and Crosby (2002, p.18) consider policy implementation as a non-linear process that:

is at least as political as technical, and is complex and highly interactive. Besides technical and institutional analysis, it calls for consensus building, participation of key stakeholders, conflict resolution, compromise, contingency planning and adaptation.

Outcomes are measured according to their effectiveness and efficiency. Policy goals are the desired outcomes that are stated or implicit in a policy. There can be ambiguity and conflict about policy goals. A causal theory underlines policy by explaining what causes problems addressed in a policy and what interventions are appropriate. The complexity of social problems means that such causal theories can be contingent or difficult to ascertain and therefore are objects of contention in the policy process. Policy tools are determined by the position of governments in terms of its relation to market forces and effective citizen pressures, which means that government and policy-making are responsive in their choice of tools.

### **Advocacy coalition approach**

The advocacy coalition approach (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993; Cairney, 1997) is a useful conceptual tool by which to move policy actors into the centre of the consideration. The advocacy coalition approach considers that policy change over time is a function of three sets of processes: the interaction of competing advocacy coalitions, changes external to the subsystem, and effects of stable system parameters, such as social structure and constitutional rules, on the constraints and resources of the various subsystem actors. It also informs the analysis about the function of deep core beliefs and secondary beliefs and the complex learning processes of policy actors.

### **Instrument choice**

Policy reform and policy process approaches are relevant analytical instruments. However, their conceptualisation often incurs a de-politicised approach to policy reform. Further required are perspectives that move power and policy making into closer contact (see for example Mitra, 2008). A political perspective is especially required for policy instrument choice, a concept that, according to Howlett (2004), refers to the menu of government choice, including both substantive and procedural instruments and the range of options available to policy making processes. Policy instruments are techniques of governance which involve the

utilisation of state authority or its conscious limitation to provide services to the public and governments.

In addition, the concept of policy instrument choice in line with Howlett (2004) considers that different instruments involve varying degrees of effectiveness, efficiency, equity, legitimacy, and partisan support. As changes in a particular situation can affect instrument appropriateness, it is understood that some instruments are more effective in carrying out a policy in some contexts than others. Legitimacy is a critical aspect and:

“refers to the ability of an instrument to attract the support of the population in general and, particularly, of those directly involved in policy-making in the issue area or sub-system involved” (Howlett, 2004, p.6).

Instrument choice is therefore not a simple technical exercise and must take into account aspects of the social, political and economic contexts in which instrument selection occurs.

### **3.6.Social appropriation as radical reformism of the sector**

I now move to the notion of counter-hegemonic struggles in order to turn attention to radical reformism and social appropriation. This section develops these concepts to circumscribe the political process of social movement events in urban water sector reform. They serve to differentiate between defensive struggles and appropriation struggles.

#### **Hegemony and counter-hegemonic**

##### **The post-Gramscian concept of hegemony**

The notion of hegemony in Marxist and post-Marxist traditions is derived from the work of Antonio Gramsci. It is understood as a situation where one social class has predominance over others and therefore exerts political and economic control and has the ability to form common sense and where unity is established between competing and conflicting interest groups (Gramsci and Forgacs, 2000; Spicer et al., 2005). Hegemony is a form of dominance that is achieved by consensual order and also moments of force (Bieler and Morton, 2003).

“Hegemony is understood as an expression of broadly-based consent, manifested in the acceptance of ideas and supported by material resources and institutions” (Bieler and Morton, 2003, [s.l.]). It is sustained and furthered in the economic, state and civil society spheres, which interact with each other (Gramsci and Forgacs, 2000).

Hegemonic forces produce what Gramsci calls a hegemonic historical bloc, whose unity is contingent and precarious. This is because the hegemonic bloc, the bloc in power, requires the



constitution of hegemonic relations and these are dependent on the successful construction and (re)articulation of a hegemonic project.

Hegemony is a situation forged by relations of direction and dominance. "Once secured via the historic bloc, the ruling class continues its struggle to dominate (coerce) and direct (win consent of) opposition over the whole of society" (Lesh, 2003, [s.l.]). A hegemonic formation therefore builds on construction, consent and maintenance of a unifying hegemonic project that can subordinate and direct (class) interests under those (class) interests of the social forces in the bloc in power. Such a hegemonic formation involves a discourse formation that constructs common sense and myth and also interaction in the spheres of the state, society and the economy. Intellectuals play an important role in hegemonic formations as they establish discourses and myths in hegemonic relations.

In this regard, Gramsci emphasizes that social contestation and struggle are drivers of social transformation processes (Merkens, 2007). In consequence, structural undecidability is a condition of hegemony (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001). Moments of hegemonic control are transitional periods whose end product is a historical bloc, which is understood as:

where a dominant group has more or less successfully secured its own interests as the common sense interests of the masses. The historical bloc establishes the agenda for other competing movements in society and seeks to govern the conditions under which counter-hegemonic movements must operate (Lesh, 2003, [s.l.]).

Hegemony has precise conditions concerning the question of what requirements constitute a hegemonic relation and the question of the construction of a hegemonic project (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001, vii). As Jessop explains, this means that the unity of a dominant hegemonic bloc can always be subverted by a multiplicity of resistances (Jessop, 2008).

### **Counter-hegemonic movement**

The Gramscian concept of hegemony, which revolves around questions of construction, consent, and maintenance of power, can be related to contemporary conditions of social activism and social struggle. It points to the necessity of articulation and formation of a counter-hegemonic movement (Jessop, 2008). The conceptual framework employs this approach in order to conceptualise social forces of resistance directed at the construction and articulation of counter-hegemonic strategies.

Furthermore, Laclau and Mouffe (2001) develop an analysis of articulation and discursive formations on which basis I conceptualise counter-hegemonic movements as agents of radical democratisation, in this case democratisation of water systems. The discursive nature of their approach to democratic movements stresses that counter-hegemonic movements and their respective projects build on the reclamation and re-appropriation of myth and the construction of new movement myths.

Myths of counter-hegemonic movements are understood to organize collective will and action. Counter-hegemonic movements produce critiques of existing hegemonic myths and produce their own interpretations of social issues and on that basis formulate their own myths. The emergence of movement myths is an organic process that is interrelated to social struggles (Lesh, 2003).

**Box 1** The term 'myth' in relation to counter-hegemonic social movements

According to Laclau and Mouffe (2001), counter-hegemonic projects are considered as popular-democratic struggles that aim at radical democracy. Such an approach is based on the centrality of antagonism in social relations and the logic of difference that is created by new frontiers in society that movements build up. Differences are dialogically structured in such ways that counter-hegemonic movements can construct what Laclau and Mouffe (2001) call chains of equivalences. Such systems of equivalences unify multiple subject positions and displace frontiers of the social. Chains of equivalences can occur between different struggles against oppression in a way that deepen and expand social struggles “in the direction of a radical and plural democracy” (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001, p.176).

Since there is no social objectivity that would determine structural arrangements through its internal logic, such as law, but only contingent hegemonic re-articulations, politics are a central

With articulation, Laclau and Mouffe describe a political practice of inter-relating interests, identities and projects with other social groups. These elements are held as necessary for counter hegemonic movements (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001).

**Box 2** The term 'articulation'

dimension in the conceptualisation of democracy for Laclau and Mouffe (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001).

Politics is structured via” the logics of difference and logics of equivalence” (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001, p.xiii) and social actors occupy differential positions within the discourses that constitute the social fabric. In that way it is to be understood that social antagonism creates frontiers that are internal to society and allow for a set of particular social actors to establish



relations of equivalence between themselves. Chains of equivalence are then created by” means of representation” (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001, p.xiii) and counter-hegemonic projects can develop on that basis. The important incision of such a theory of radical democracy is that politics remain structured around social division.

The radicalisation of democracy is therefore based on the notion that there are no win-win situations in a society structured along logics of differences and equivalences and competing (counter) hegemonic projects. In addition, the state as a site of struggle, and other institutions and organisations of society, are not the neutral terrain as conceived by many democratisation approaches. Instead, left politics need to attempt to transform pluralist and liberal-democratic institutions on the basis of contestation of present hegemonic orders. Such radicalisation of democracy is based on the profound transformation of the existing relations of power. This opens the view on counter-hegemonic projects and movements that require the creation of new political frontiers, not their disappearance. Counter-hegemonic projects employ elements of defence and vision, the latter being about how different ways of organising social relations can move away from defensive strategies. A third element is the construction of chains of equivalence that can establish frontiers and define adversaries on the basis of an emancipatory understanding of the nature of power relations and the dynamics of politics. Laclau and Mouffe (2001) also argue for the need to create chains of equivalence between the various democratic struggles against different forms of subordination and the integration of both issues of redistribution and recognition as elements of new left hegemonic projects.

## **Radical reformism**

### **The starting point of state theory**

I have argued that social struggles are to be understood in relation to state power and the materiality of the state, thus moving into perspective the state as terrain of struggles that itself is to be transformed. For Brand and Heigl (2006), this means that movement politics need to be considered in their characteristic of aiming towards social transformation that involves the restructuring of the materiality of the state and the social relations it condenses. In this conceptual perspective, the reconstruction of the state matrix through dynamics of mobilisation and politicisation is the aim of social movements. Success is dependent on broad alliances and integration into strategies of institutional actors in terms of strategic interventions (Brand and Heigl, 2006).

## **Defining radical reformism**

Poulantzas considers the reconstruction of society involving the state in terms of a state-centred radical transformation (Poulantzas et al. 2000), emphasising the institutional embedding of the mode of production as the key factor of central importance for the “ignition of processes of transformation” (Poulantzas and Demirovic, 2002, p.118). Brand and Heigl (2006) broaden this conceptual approach to the notion of radical reformism to include societal relations of production, reproduction and gender and societal relations of nature and also the element of international exchange.

Dealing with typical discrepancies within emancipatory movements, the approach captures aspects of autonomous political transformation without losing sight of the materiality of the state as site and object of emancipatory struggle and restructuring. While being less centred on political parties and state, it opens perspectives on the creativity and capability of generalisation of demands of social movements. Strategies of social struggles are therefore directed to “the inside and outside of the state” (Brand and Heigl, 2006, p.288). The basis of transformation of the state and social formations through radical reformism are conflicts and social learning processes that lead to creativity and generalisability of movement projects.

## **Social appropriation**

### **Background and rationale of application**

Social or collective appropriation was at the centre of the perspective of emancipation of the workers' movement of the 19th century (Andréani, 2002). However, left parties and also trade unions nowadays do not commonly include appropriation in their programmes. While they do work for the defence of public goods, the reactivation of the problem of collective appropriation is mostly met with reserve and reticence (Maler, 2003). Notwithstanding, recent literature and political debates within the alter-globalisation movement suggest a reopening of the debate (Pelizzari and Zeller, 2005). Social appropriation is used in movement discourses as a mobilising and activating frame of action. Moreover, I understand the concept as heuristic analytical concept to locate, discuss and evaluate struggles around urban water and sanitation.

### **Definition and explanation**

Social appropriation has been the object of recent debates in literature (Andréani, 2002; Hachfeld, 2007; Maler, 2003; Pelizzari and Zeller, 2005; Zeller, 2004). Its value stems from the fact that it correlates with movement self-perceptions and internal movement debates while



at the same time standing in its own right as a theoretical concept on social and political-economic change.

Pelizzari understands the aim of social appropriation as the “equal access to the satisfaction of basic needs of citizens” (Pelizzari and Zeller, 2005, p.4) and, expanding on that, the:

drafting of an horizon for an emancipatory counter-draft to the neoliberal disappropriation economy and its social-liberal accompanying programme of social-liberal policies (Pelizzari and Zeller, 2005, p.4).

Social appropriation is thereby understood as a structural alternative, which is set out and determined in movement contexts through collective mobilisation (Pelizzari and Zeller, 2005). It thereby formulates a counter-strategy to the dominant disappropriation economy (Zeller, 2004). It is understood as open-ended process that aims at concrete political intervention with a perspective of radical social change.

The concept allows for the combination of three interrelated but not usually explicitly articulated incidents. Firstly, there are the currently existing social movement dynamics and forms of social and political struggle around urban water and sanitation and its commodification and privatisation. Secondly, the prevailing demands and movement frames that centre on the protection of (Fordist) public service state structures, customary system of water supply and protection of citizen rights. And thirdly the emancipatory horizon of social transformation that is engrained in and goes beyond these struggles and reformist strategies (Pelizzari and Zeller, 2005).

### **Social appropriation of public services (WATSAN)**

According to Zeller (2004), social appropriation necessarily envisions a radical democratisation of society and economy. For the consideration of public services, and other types of economic activities, Zeller argues that this means conceptualising radical democratisation by interlinking currently existing conflicts and struggles between societal needs and rights to the satisfaction of basic needs and a critique of the capitalist relations that prevent them. Taken together, social appropriation requires the formulation of a fundamental rupture, in theoretical and practical terms, with the logic of profit and competition and with the institutions that guarantee this logic (Zeller, 2004).

Social appropriation offers a perspective on social relations that takes into account space, technologies and social order, making the concept useful for urban water and sanitation as

urban WATSAN is a physical and socially embedded infrastructure of the built environment that generates specific urban conditions for human life, development and biophysical systems (see section 2.1). Urban water services are produced and delivered by specific public or other types of enterprises and productive systems. In case of mixed economies and private sector systems, regulatory systems are publically organised. So public service providers of urban WATSAN and regulatory agencies are generally speaking economic state apparatuses that order and control urban space and social order and thus amalgamate productive and territorial and spatial elements of urban water and sanitation. The above leads to the prominent element of the social appropriation approach of concern for the site of production (Andréani, 2002; Maler, 2003), which in the case of urban WATSAN systems concern the built environment.

So the concept of appropriation discusses alternative forms of provision and production of public service that, according to Zeller (2004), can be considered as territorial and productive structures that relate to new form of representative democracy, in which existing parliamentary democratic structures are combined at different scales with direct democratic elements such as referenda. From this it follows that the concept necessarily and fundamentally involves the reconfiguration and reformulation of the concept of public services. Social appropriation involves a transformation of the relations of the state and civil society and changes of relations of power through societal contestation and conflict (Candeias, 2007). In terms of Poulantzas state theoretical terminology, social appropriation can thus be regarded as functionalisation of (class) struggle within a capitalist mode of production in order to destabilise it and develop a radical transformation (Barrow, 2006).

### **Social conflict as driving force**

Hence, appropriation is about the functionalisation of conflicts and contradictions in societal and economic relations with the aim of destruction and transformation of the conditions of appropriation of surplus value. Accordingly, social appropriation is a political (class) practice that is emancipatory because it consciously or unconsciously pulls down the conditions of appropriation of surplus value within an existing mode of production. Out of this rupture, a new dynamic of surplus value appropriation can develop (Barrow, 2006). Appropriation therefore addresses the principal means of production and exchange (Maler, 2003). Social appropriation is therefore founded on a critique of the political economy and in its final determination appropriation means change of capitalist relations. Not a shift within the



relation of capital but a fundamental dislocation and unhinging of capitalist value of labour. Intrinsically related is the radical democratisation of institutions and state structures and the social relations compressed in these.

Since appropriation in a Marxist perspective means the transformation of the relations of production and the re-organisation of the process of work (Heinrich, 2004), campaigns for social appropriation, through their problematising of themes of collective satisfaction of needs and participation in public life, offer a way to critically approach issues of the conditions of societal production and reproduction. This requires the construction of "power to act in the sites of production" (Heinrich, 2004, p.184), where the relations of production need to be considered and broken apart as specific societal relations. As maintained by Chesnais (2000), the relations of the workers and producers to their means of production and relations of production, and the changes of these relations, are central elements of Marxist analysis. They remain current concepts today in struggles against capitalist domination and exploitation.

In short, social appropriation, through the determination by struggles, is thought to determine the form of the public matrix, the definition of the needs of production and distribution, and the question of the form of public authorities and state structures, which are not a neutral administration of things and not a tool of the dominant class but a social relation. In this sense, Maler (2003) conceptualises social appropriation of production on the basis of a radical transformation of public authority and power, cooperative organisation and the control over sites of production by workers and users.

### **Central questions of power and the "how to do it"**

In this conception, self-organisation and autonomous politics are not opposed to concepts of state power. Instead, these two elements of public and collective power and organisation are to be considered together at the same time in new modalities of articulation between the two. For this to occur, Maler (2003) argues that the level of power and cohesion of forces of social emancipation have to be greater than those of capital and its political representatives. What remains unresolved, and purposefully open for future determination by social processes of struggle, is how a political system can accommodate the need for local self-determination and self-organised cooperation with a perspective of public authority and its democratisation.

Andréani (2002) puts forward the need for a democratic intervention in the form of an open-ended creative intervention of social movements and other political actors. He asks in this

regard, firstly, how society can appropriate the means of production and satisfy its needs. This question relates to the form and process of political struggle and the moment of revolutionary or radical change. And secondly, he asks about how to manage the appropriated things. The latter question centres on the type and administration of property of the large means of production and exchange. For Barrow (2006) the latter question involves the social appropriation of surplus value in production, distribution and consumption and its socialisation.

### **From defensive to appropriation struggles**

An important conceptual definition that can be drawn from the framework of radical reformism as social appropriation and the theories on social movements is the categorisation of struggles around urban water and sanitation as defensive or as appropriation struggles. Struggles can either be reactionary, defensive and limited in scope and vision, when for example a movement only focuses on the prevention of a planned privatisation, or social movements can develop strategies, practices and visions of social appropriation (de Angelis, 2007). The latter require a social movement rather than an urban movement lacking political consciousness (see Castells, 1983). Appropriation struggles are therefore characterised by a move beyond resistance to something, i.e. privatisation, to contestation in favour of something, i.e. direct democratic participation in water management. This occurs via the challenge of discourses, norms and structures and through a collective mobilisation process whereby alternative vision, proposals and projects can be developed and implemented.

In this regard, it is opportune to remind that the welfare state category 'public services' is a politically determined discourse. In previous publications I have argued that social struggle politicises the definition and configuration of public services (Terhorst, 2003; 2008). Public service thus turns into a political term in relation to which social movements build resistance, amalgamate interests and political practices. The key heuristic conceptual notion I draw from this division is that appropriation struggles, different to mere defensive struggles, develop visions and political space for the creation of alternatives to the current discursive determination of what constitutes the public services of urban WATSAN.

A related consideration is found in the now classic reader on globalisation by Altvater and Mahnkopf (2004). They consider social transformation to have different depths, using the analogy of waves and cycles in economic theory and argue that large waves of crises entail a transformation of social formations. While small waves or crises can exchange elites within



persistent systems, in its furthest reach, transformation can transform to revolution in a crisis of civilisation. The conceptual reach of appropriation struggles then lies between the extremes of system-conform and revolutionary change, where immanence is challenged without necessarily changing basic functional logics such as private property. The research is therefore conceptually designed to capture how form-immanent basic institutions are challenged and thereby system transformation occurs beyond system-immanent change. This is where not only elites but also certain functional logics are exchanged.

More concretely, the research looks at the social protagonists of such non-conformist challenges and how these impact on the institutions of urban water and sanitation, and thereby on access to services. The deliberation of the conceptual development that distinguishes and clarifies the move from defensive struggles to creative and propositional struggles of social appropriation from below is a central figure in this thesis. It is the result not only of theoretical work but has been developed in the course of the research process through an open-ended and heuristic methodology and circular research approach.

It is of interest to note that during the course of the research endeavour, in other words over the last four years, similar considerations have gained momentum in theoretical and movement debates, which shows the timeliness of the research. For example, Candeias (2007) argues that often movement strategies are disarticulated and remain in unconnected parallel forms and are stuck to the defence of national Fordist welfare state structures. While this defence is warranted in the context of today's pressure on social security systems and public services, he argues that defensive struggles are to be connected with offensive demands and need to articulate in common approaches of social appropriation from below, perhaps under the header of de-commodification (Candeias, 2007).

### **3.7. Summarising sector transformation**

In order to make my conceptual approach relevant and communicable to scholars and practitioners of participatory development and social movements alike, I have built conceptual linkage points between participation, social movement theory and material state theory. Institutional change and policy reform were also conceptualised, so as to allow for adequate analyses of sector transformations and policy processes on a more concrete and practical level, compared to the important but lofty concepts of state transformation that underline the critical theoretical conceptualisation of the research framework. I spelled out that the organisational field of urban WATSAN is an object of study in its own right. WATSAN was

considered as an economic function of the state that is determined in its form and content by the socio-political determination as a public service. This occurs through socio-political (class) struggle and contestation. This determination is considered in material state theory as the condensation of social relations.

Social appropriation has been discussed as a concept that addresses the re-embedding of control over production, distribution and consumption and rights of access to public services into the social and political sphere away from the capitalist economic sphere. It is bound into broader socio-political processes, while addressing the specific form and function of state apparatuses. Radical reformism is then understood as a process of social appropriation by counter-hegemonic social movement projects.

Politicised participation is understood as social movement intervention that affects state-society relations. It is related to the notion of the impact of social movements on statehood and in particular (state) public systems of public service provision. It moves into perspective the political space of movement politics and their forms and contents of organisation, articulation and action and their specific impact on state structures and public service systems in particular.

To summarise, the key elements for such processes of radical reformism that re-appropriate public goods and services are politicised participation, social movement impact and political space. Radical reformism by social movements requires defensive anti-privatisation struggles to shift and expand to (re-)appropriation strategies.



## **4. Methodology, Research Approach, Design and Review of the Process**

*This chapter begins with a discussion of the methodological underpinnings of the research inquiry. It then explains the research approach, setting out the research question and working hypothesis. The research design is described in section 4.3. I then moved on to review the process of research as emergent practice of politicised social movement research in section 4.4. The chapter ends by describing how the research results were disseminated and thus the methodological circle closed (section 4.5).*

### **4.1. Methodology**

#### **The methodological paradigm**

##### **Clarifying terms**

Methodology is the study of methods and refers to the varying systems of principles, techniques, practices, and procedures that are applied in scientific research. Methodology makes explicit the presuppositions that inform the knowledge that is generated by inquiry (Harvey, 1990). It links the science of knowledge with research practices and is concerned with the meaning and application of research in the social world. Methodology is generally “viewed as the interface between methodic practice, substantive theory and epistemological underpinnings” (Harvey, 1990, p.1). Epistemology is concerned with the nature, sources and limits of knowledge, especially propositional knowledge. Substantive theory refers to “a set of propositions that offer a coherent account of aspects of the social world” (Harvey, 1990, p.1).

Although methodology is sometimes used synonymously with method, it entails more than codified recommendations of research practices or methods of data collection.

Notwithstanding, positivist research frequently ignores methodology and transmutes it with method when the ‘common-sense’ presuppositions about the nature of the ‘scientific method’ are substituted for an understanding of positivist underpinnings (Harvey, 1990). To distinguish elements of methodology it is necessary to understand social research in its positivist, phenomenological or critical character and to be able to carry it out and grasp its nature.

##### **Epistemological divisions in the social sciences**

The social sciences are either seen as close to natural sciences or understood by a divide between social and natural sciences. This generates the classic methodological divisions between what is referred to in terms of positivist versus interpretive; or natural versus

interpretive or quantitative versus qualitative-hermeneutic. Whereas positivism supports objectivist knowledge, the interpretive understanding holds that "human social action depends upon reasons, intentions and meanings" (Giddens as quoted by Tormey et al., 1994, p.1). This division between what is also seen in terms of quantitative versus qualitative research however is viewed with some scepticism. The basis here is that social or natural research, quantitative or qualitative research alike are influenced by elements of communication, meaning and language. Such a perspective emphasises the fact that empirical reality cannot be directly grasped; it requires an active knower, considered by phenomenology, and also adequate linguistic frameworks, a notion referred to as the linguistic turn (Tormey et al., 1994).

In consequence, what moves into focus are the differences within the interpretive tradition. Methodological uniformity is disrupted by developments in social research such as the account of the researcher in research, flexibility of research, reflexivity as ontologically significant factor, or the need to develop a discourse that is appropriate to the phenomenon. Most important however seems that "(p)olitical, social, ontological and personal concerns have now invaded what before was thought to be technical arena" (Tormey et al., 1994, p.1). For example, feminist research is not only a substantive concern but also a political, epistemological and ontological one, with the consequence that feminist arguments about methodology are also social, political and ontological arguments (Tormey et al., 1994).

### **Proposing a combination of theoretical paradigms**

A theoretical paradigm is "a basic set of beliefs that guides action" (Guba quoted in Fielding and Schreier, 2001, p.19). The four paradigms that structure qualitative research are positivist and post-positivist, constructivist-interpretive, critical (Marxist, emancipatory), and feminist-poststructural. These four abstract paradigms can work in parallel as they employ similar relativist ontologies (multiple constructed realities), interpretive epistemologies (the knower and known interact and shape one another), and interpretive, naturalist methods (Fielding and Schreier, 2001). My research is based on a critical post-Marxist paradigm in parallel with a constructivist-interpretive paradigm of heuristic qualitative research of the so-called Hamburg approach.

Denzin and Lincoln (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000) and Kleining and Witt (2001) agree that qualitative research presents a crisis of hermeneutics, especially in the dimensions of validity and subjectivity, because of its almost exclusive use of the interpretive paradigm (Kleining and



Witt, 2001). Interpretivists argue that it is possible to understand the subjective meaning of action (grasping the actor's beliefs, desires, and so on) from an objective, external standpoint of the interpreter (Schwandt, 2000). In contrast, hermeneutics argues that interpretation is affected by assumptions, patterns and even prejudgements and therefore meaning is not constructed but negotiated through encounters. This condition of understanding also means that knowledge is a moral and political knowledge. Criticism to both the interpretivists and hermeneutics is based on three main arguments (Kleining and Witt 2001). Firstly, the inherent subjectivity of interpretations and second the institutionalisation and consequent restriction to social sciences and exclusion from natural sciences. Thirdly, there is the dissolution of rules for research in this field.

Especially the first point of critique mentioned above, namely the subjectivity of interpretations, stands for generating a double crisis of current qualitative research. This refers to a representational and a legitimisation crisis. The first is about the problematic use of the researcher's own experience and the second about the ways of proving his results (Kleining and Witt, 2001). This research emphasises, for the above reasons, the constructivist aspect of knowledge and employs it in order to develop a coherent approach to qualitative research. Constructivism emphasises that "human beings do not find or discover knowledge so much as we construct or make it" (Schwandt, 2000, p.197). Ontologically, this means that social reality exists in the form of multiple mental constructions. In terms of epistemology, it is a rejection of the conception of knowledge as correct interpretation of an independent reality (Schwandt, 2000). So knowledge is not detached from the researcher and is a result of interaction with the real world.

### **The Hamburg approach to heuristic qualitative research**

Kleining and Witt (2001) argue that in order to overcome the interpretive bias of qualitative research, heuristic and explorative methods that aim at discovery rather than reflexive interpretation need to be (re-)instated in qualitative research. These authors are proponents of the so-called Hamburg qualitative heuristic methodology, which draws on classic heuristic studies and combines their elements with making methodological decisions explicit and the setting of systematic rules for their application. It is recognised in post-Marxist and social movement research because of its methodological orientation toward discovery and the capacity to solve problems (Cox, 1994).

Kleining and Witt (2001) propose explorative research in order to characterise research as active and process-oriented. Four rules refer to the situation of the researcher, the topic of research, data collection and data analysis:

- Openness of the research person
- Openness of the research topic
- Maximum variation of perspectives
- Discovering similarities and integrating all data

The second rule is especially important because, as is the case with explorative research, neither the nature nor the dimensions of the topic are well known. The research is seen as dialogue between the researcher and the topic of research, moving between questions, answers and new questions until all aspects are explored and all data structurally incorporated. This leads to a complexity of findings that moves away from subjective interpretations and allows for a non-predefined methodology that adjusts to learning in the social world (Kleining and Witt, 2001).

### **Critical social inquiry**

Critical theory is understood according to Marx's 1843 definition of critical theory as "the self clarification of the struggles and the wishes of the age" (Neufeld, 2002, p.1). Critical theories challenge mainstream approaches by the rejection of the positivist assumption that the aim of social science is to identify causal relationships in an objective world (Bieler and Morton, 2003). Rejecting the possibility to distinguish normative inquiry from empirical scientific research, it argues "that knowledge is structured by existing sets of social relations" (Harvey, 1990, p.2). It promotes the values of emancipation, empowerment and social change and asks substantive questions about existing social processes that oppress and control people.

Critical social research is underpinned by a critical-dialectic perspective which attempts to dig beneath the surface of historically specific, oppressive, social structures (and) attempts to interpret the meaning of social actors (Harvey, 1990, p.1).

Critical methodology therefore provides knowledge for communities and activists to engage with the prevailing social structures. "In its engagement with oppressive structures it questions the nature of prevailing knowledge and directs attention to the processes and institutions which legitimate knowledge" (Harvey, 1990, p.6). It has a long history of research into class, gender and race-based social oppression and analyses social processes by revealing underlying practices, their historical specificity and structural manifestations. It asks how these



processes that oppress and control people are concealed and how subaltern actors empower themselves through collective action.

In recent years, critical social research has seen the emergence of a school of critical realism, associated amongst others with Pierre Bourdieu. It is an attempt to combine subjective factors and objective circumstances or social facts. Its importance derives from the stress of realist assumptions that there are underlying patterns to the immediately discoverable empirical world, and that these are at least indirectly knowable (Cox, 1994). Critical realism is explicitly interventionist and shares many propositions with constructive realism as described in Kleining and Witt (2001). Cox (1994) suggests that critical realism enables a more complex understanding of research activity because it takes into account politics of research and reflexivity. For social movement research, critical realism is based on a two-way communication between different knowledge interests of participants and researcher. In such a politics of knowledge, the researcher's own standpoint and knowledge interests are important factors.

### **Qualitative Research**

Considerable academic and professional politics on the philosophy of science confluenced in the 1970s to give rise to a renewed and new interest in qualitative work (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). This has become an important and permanent extension of the methodical arsenal available to empirical researchers (Rost, 2003). Qualitative research developed as a result of methodological, epistemological, political, and ethical critiques on the standard, positivist forms of social scientific inquiry (Schwandt, 2000) and has since established itself as a field of inquiry in its own right. It is defined by Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p.4) as:

a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self.

One important transformation in qualitative research was the so-called narrative turn, where researchers locate themselves in their text and work and thus create more reflexive accounts (Rost, 2003). Denzin and Lincoln argue that qualitative research is becoming "a site for critical conversations about democracy, race, gender, class, nation-states, globalisation, freedom and community" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p.3).

It is inherently multi-method in focus in order to secure an in-depth understanding of phenomena. Methods vary and range from case study, participatory inquiry, interviewing,

participant observation, visual methods and interpretive analysis. According to Rost (2003), qualitative research is defined by the importance it gives to categorical data, as opposed to metric data, that is analysed more in descriptive than explanatory terms. Qualitative research classifies rather than quantifies and cares for the operationalisation of variables rather than their measurement. Priority is given to the analysis of strengths of effects rather than statistical inference.

Qualitative research addresses the deficit of quantitative research to account for the creation of theories that are scientifically tested via inference of hypothesis testing (Rost, 2003). Karl Popper's theory of science for example excludes the inductive step from the empirical world to theory and thus reduces scientific work to the testing via empirical data whether a given theory is correct or not. The question of how the theory was deduced in the first place or changes during the course of the research remains unanswered. Qualitative work potentially resolves this asymmetry via a circular model of scientific work, in which the empirical world and theories are linked via successive or spiralling motions of both deduction and induction (Lamnek, 2005).

### **Explaining the choice between quantitative and qualitative research**

There is a bipolar contrast between hermeneutic and formal reasoning; or quantitative and qualitative methods (Lamnek, 2005). Distinctiveness, coherence and richness are qualities of qualitative research that quantitative research often lacks while qualitative research lacks precision in terms of its explanations and causal links (Fielding and Schreier, 2001). While epistemological debates in post-modern perspectives consider dissolving these epistemological differences between quantitative and qualitative research, practical implications of this debate need to be drawn for research practice (Creswell, 2005).

While I accept the potentials of practical inter-relation and application of qualitative and quantitative methods by hybrid approaches such as sequencing of methods (Neuman, 2006), I have opted to undertake a purely qualitative study on the basis of arguments in favour of qualitative research by Lamnek (2005). I considered that explorative-qualitative methodologies were more suited primarily because the level of existing knowledge on social movements around urban water services was rather small and no adequate theoretical frameworks existed. I argued that qualitative approaches are more suited to develop such frameworks in coherent and dense ways. I also reasoned that a purely qualitative research was more suited



because the differences between linear (quantitative) and circular (qualitative) research strategies, such as different goals, data collections and sample types mean that combining them does not necessarily result in better research (Lamnek, 2005). My choice of qualitative methodology is also based on the constraints of the scope of a PhD thesis. This is not to say that the results of this qualitative study should not be taken further by means of a sequencing approach later. This can be a mixed or purely quantitative research approach as proposed by Creswell (2005).

### **Process of qualitative research**

Qualitative research design starts with an intellectual curiosity, if not a passion, for a particular topic by the researcher. Researchers are engaged and design with “real individuals in mind” and “intent of living in that social setting over time” (Janesick, 2000, p.382). This means that the researcher has to situate and re-contextualise the project within the shared experience of the researcher and the participants (Janesick, 2000). The process of qualitative research proceeds in three interconnected generic activities that are determined by the researcher’s background and preferences. Firstly, the researcher approaches the world with a set of ideas which are based on theoretical assumptions and ontological foundations (interpretive paradigm). These affect and specify the second step of research questions and epistemology (strategy of inquiry), which in turn are examined, thirdly, in specific ways through methods and types of analysis (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

This means that qualitative research design is simultaneously open-ended, rigorous and does justice to the complexity of the social setting under study (Janesick, 2000). It thereby can capture nuanced and complex social situations by rigorous and tested procedures (Denzin/Lincoln 2000). At the same time, the design process of qualitative research is “as spontaneous and reflective as the social situation” (Janesick 2000: 381). The role of the researcher is described as “researcher-as-bricoleur-theorist” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p.5f). Bricolage is derived from the maker of quilts who mounts different elements and describes how a researcher works within and between different competing and overlapping perspectives, tools and methods (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

### **Reflexivity**

The before mentioned narrative turn has located the researcher in the text and work. It has created a tendency for more reflexive accounting of research and more flexibility of research.

The concept of reflexivity in methodology has gained considerable ground over the last two decades (Cox, 1994). It started with the recognition of bias in the very concepts that sociology was using and led to the call, amongst others from Pierre Bourdieu (1986), for a reflexive sociology. Others, such as Burawoy (1998), have proposed the vision of two models, one positivist and one reflexive. The distinction is that instead of positivist separation of researcher and the object of research, reflexivity puts into play dialogue and 'intersubjectivity' (Burawoy, 1998). Therefore reflexivity turns ontologically significant (Tormey et al., 1994).

Burawoy (1998) argues in favour of reflexivity in ethnographic studies in order to locate the research within the social world and thus thematise the researcher's participation in the world under study. Lending from Kuhn and Popper, Burawoy (1998, p.5) argues:

Objectivity is measured not by codified procedures to map the social world but by the growth of knowledge as imaginative and parsimonious reconstruction of theory to accommodate anomalies.

This is not to say that reflexive research does not require accepted research methods in order to be an appropriate strategy to gain valid knowledge, but it stresses that the purpose is dialogue between social scientists and people and that this can take place in many different and sometimes unpredictable forms.

### **Triangulation**

In 1970, Denzin introduced the term triangulation into the social sciences. It has become an ever-present catchphrase in methodological literature of the social sciences. At the same time its precise meaning has become diffused (Fielding and Schreier, 2001). According to Flick (1998) and Denzin and Lincoln (2000), triangulation is an alternative means of validation that adds rigour, breadth and richness by combining different practices and perspectives.

However, it can be argued that triangulation is not a simple form of validation because objective reality can be captured only through representation. In the sense that qualitative research is the systematic empirical inquiry into meaning, triangulation is about adopting a sceptical attitude that maintains receptiveness to the logical foundations of the inquiry and not a means to positivist validity (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). This means that competing visions create new realities rather than creating a validated truth.



## Quality of research and quality of research

Triangulation as a concept for the practice of rigour has been mentioned above. How this rigour is expressed in conceptual terms usually refers to the questions of validity. Janesick (2000) rejects the concept of validity, derived from quantitative research, and argues for its replacement with language and concepts that better incorporate the complexity and texture of qualitative research. In a conceptual perspective, Janesick (2000) ascribes utility to the notion of generalisability because for a research interest of meaning and interpretation traditional concepts fall short and may be detrimental. Generalisability is a way to understand the social setting and results of a research that may be useful for bureaucrats and policy makers who tend to prefer to aggregate numbers rather than certain social conditions (Janesick, 2000). Instead of the quantitative definitions of validity, validity for qualitative research thus entails description and explanation and whether the explanation fits the description. "In other words, is the explanation credible" (Schwandt, 2000, p.393) without relying on one single explanation.

Such an approach may run into difficulties in the academic mainstream; however I find that the subjectivity of research demands such reflexive accounting for substance and interpretative validity. Buroway (1998) argues in favour of reflexive principles and maintains that generalisable and falsifiable explanations can be gained beyond positivist paradigms.

Verification theory asks whether a certain research result is valid, whether data is reliable and repeatable and for what range it can be applied. According to a more detailed account which acknowledges these perhaps even post-modern, reflexive tendencies of questioning validity, qualitative research should be guided by inner validity and differentiate between validity, reliability, and range of applicability (Kleining and Witt, 2001).

Inner validity is achieved during the research process by conclusively inter-relating all data. Reliability means that repeated or different measurements will achieve similar results. Range of applicability corresponds to range in deductive quantitative research. For qualitative research however it is established via a reverse movement in the sense that the researcher decides the range. Also external validity can be added here. I have previously referred to Kleining and Witt (2001) for their work on qualitative heuristic analysis. Their approach of explorative research involves the verification of findings by tests against audiences and goals. Also, explorative qualitative research inductively finds out which range of applicability might exist for a particular topic.

## **Strategies of inquiry**

Method application and relevance depend on their accepted use in academia and trends in institutions, norms and researcher's identities and preferences (George and Bennett, 2005). In accordance with the stipulated characteristics of the bricolage of qualitative research, I developed four research strategies in an open-ended and sequenced research process. The research design is built upon fruitful combination of different research strategies and represents an example of what George and Bennett called "new phase of development conducive to cross-method collaboration and multi-method work" (George and Bennett, 2005, p.5). The complementary nature of the different approaches is reached by the tight interaction between the different elements.

### ***Participant observation in critical ethnography***

Participant observation originates in ethnography and has been widely employed in qualitative research (Jorgensen, 2000). It describes a multi-technique approach to study social phenomena by a set of empirical techniques and analytical methods directed towards an unbiased and accurate analytic description of a complex social phenomenon. The strategy of participant observation is based on inductive reasoning. Instead of testing theories through causal generalisations, participant observation aims at empirical description to reveal social processes and aims at empirical application and modification of theory. It understands a social setting by understanding subjects' conceptions while establishing validity through accurate, reasonable, complete and valid descriptions that derive from systematically, comprehensively and rigorously employed techniques.

Participant observation in conventional approaches prescribes detachment of the researcher from the study area. According to Burawoy (1998), traditional ethnography is therefore positivist and employs grounded theory in a way that excludes the involvement of the researcher as bias, as it strives to build decontextualised generalisations. In contrast, critical ethnography (Madison, 2005) offers a reflexive account that enables researchers to create an arguably more objective, systematic and valid analyses of a social setting (Harvey, 1990). It is also referred to as reflexive ethnography (Burawoy, 1998) or political and politicised ethnography when applied to a political setting (Mathers and Novelli, 2005). These have in common the fact that research takes an interventionist position rather than a descriptive or neutral one, thus following the model of critical theory (Madison, 2005).



Critical ethnography links detailed analysis to wider social structures and systems of power relations in order to get beneath the surface of oppressive structural relationships. It thereby raises questions of political purpose (Madison, 2005). Also Mathers and Novelli (2005) stress that critical ethnography is a commitment to social and political change and its agents.

It challenges institutions, regimes of knowledge, and social practices (Madison 2005) and enters a “democratic dialogue” through “critical engagement” (Mathers and Novelli, 2005, p.2). This means that the critical ethnographer “contributes to emancipatory knowledge and discourses of social justice” (Madison, 2005, p.3). Also, critical ethnography includes the recognition of the politics of research that result from the encounters between researchers and the lifeworld and the dialogue toward substantial and viable meanings (Cox, 1998; Madison, 2005). This means that in her/his research the researcher needs to make accessible and transparent her/his judgements and evaluations and thereby open these to critique (Madison, 2005).

### ***The combined typology and case study approach***

George and Bennett (George and Bennett, 2005) develop a methodology that integrates typology theory, within-case study analysis and comparative case studies. The interesting feature of George and Bennet’s approach is the combined application of typologies and case studies. They argue that:

typology theorizing and cross-case comparisons it facilitates can be integrated with within-case methods of analysis to allow structured iterations between theories and cases (George and Bennett, 2005, p.234).

For example, typologies and typology theory can help identify which cases to select for specific research designs and theory-building purposes. The authors criticise comparative case study methods and argue that alternatives are urgently needed. They respond by developing a research approach that formulates a concept by which typology development, comparative case studies and process tracing (their preferred term for historical-critical data collection and analysis within case study research) are designed, carried out and used as a basis for theory development in social science. Such a cross-method approach is appropriate for my research purposes as I move from global discourses to local struggles and have to not only identify the social phenomena but also to develop a theoretical grasp on them.

According to Bailey (2005), a typology is a multidimensional classification and describes an array or complete set of types. Typologies are commonly employed in social research to

partition events into types that share specified combinations of factors. Ideally, these are mutually exclusive and exhaustive so that each case fits into one type (George and Bennett, 2005). The advantages of typologies lie in their descriptive power, their exhaustiveness and clarity in analysis and reduction of multidimensional complexity.

From typologies, researchers can develop typological theories, which are one “way of modelling complex contingent generalizations” (George and Bennett, 2005, p.7). Typological theorising contrasts with general explanatory theory in that typology theory provides a differentiated depiction and can generate discriminating explanations (George and Bennett, 2005). Its hallmark is the refinement of contingent generalisations and generalised pathways. Pathways are abstract and theoretical but at the same time offer concrete historical explanations. The typology approach is typically employed to develop hypotheses and heuristic identification of new variables and cases on the basis of similarities and differences among cases that facilitate comparisons. George and Bennett (2005) differentiate between inductive and deductive means of developing typologies and typological theories. Explorative research employs inductive approaches to develop a typological theory in order to build a theory.

### ***The case studies***

#### **Explanation of the case study approach**

Yin defines case studies as a comprehensive research strategy that relies on multiple sources of evidence which need to be consistently verified through triangulation (Yin, 2007). According to Janesick, “the value of the case study is its uniqueness; consequently, reliability in the traditional sense of replicability is pointless here” (Janesick, 2000, 394). Case studies are not strong in assessing generalised causal effect and causal weights of variables across a range of cases. Case studies are more valuable in assessing whether and how a variable matters rather than how much (George and Bennett, 2005).

The research employs in a general sense the extended case study approach by Buroway (1998) as this integrates a considerate theory building process that takes contextual and political factors into account, and is in line with the suggestions for combining comparative and with in-case study strategies by George and Bennett (2005). Case studies can thus be designed to examine specific aspects of the pro-public challenge theorised in the typology theory. These thereby perform a heuristic function by examining variables and conceptual developments of the typology theory on the basis of sequences of events observed inductively in case studies.



The case studies move from the comparative perspective of the typologies into the concrete situation, in this case of local-national water struggles. They develop contextual analysis and are based on participatory research techniques that expand to an emergent practice of movement research that I explain in section 4.5. The case study approach joins the transnational-level research on discourse analysis and the international comparison of local-national struggle of the typology down to the level of concrete movement activity at the local-national level. This happens via the detailed description and exploration of micro-processes.

This approach follows the case study design by George and Bennett (2005) who propose process tracing in the case studies in combination with typological theory development to model complex contingent generalisations. It is this inside cases study analysis that attempts to trace the links between possible causes and observed outcomes to check the hypothesised causal process of the initial typology theory development. Thereby, insights are gained on whether and how the variable and conceptual developments of the typology actually fit and are correct. After the within-case analyses (Chapters 7 and 8), Chapter 9 develops a comparative analysis in the form of a compound analysis.

#### **Review of process: the example of the Peruvian case study**

The research methodology that was employed in the case studies is based on qualitative heuristic and open-ended methodology, as was the case with the participant observation mentioned above. This approach has required me as researcher to be open and demanded a variation of perspective. The explorative nature of the research required a constant dialogue between my positional as insider researcher of the movement organisations I partnered with and the topic of research, moving between questions, answers and new question.

I explain this cyclic approach with the example of the case study of Peru-Huancayo, where the embedded case study of Huancayo evolved as the central element in the knowledge production. The research focus in the case study moved from the question about the national movement's discourse and strategies to its local implementation in Huancayo. After establishing the frontier of social antagonism in Huancayo and the political and social strategic field, the research moved its focus back to the national level to the question of how the national movement organisation FENTAP, a trade union association, could enable and support the identified qualitative shift in Huancayo towards social appropriation of the local utility SEDAM Huancayo S.A.. The inquiry then turned back again the local level and focused on how a

nationally empowered sector reform process could be enabled through local political spaces and technical intervention of the PUP partner. In conclusion, the case study undertook a detailed examination of the specific aspect of the pro-public challenge at national and at the local level of the city of Huancayo in order to further develop the generalised typology theory.

### **Qualitative Analysis**

Qualitative analysis in this research is based on the critique of the scientific model of inference to the best explanation (Kleining and Witt, 2001). This method, to justify a hypothesis by setting of basic propositions and confirmation through evidence, is not applied in this research. Such an approach can in many circumstances be a valid approach to research; in this case it is not because the heuristic nature of the research requires other.

In result, there is no hypothesis but a *working hypothesis*, which stands for the fact that it is used as a guiding post rather than to infer from some basic proposition to inferred propositions. The research in contrast employs an explanatory strategy of mostly interpretive, descriptive and heuristic character. Formal explanation is favoured to logical explanation at this early stage in the development of the new research agenda into public water that I have proposed above. Data analysis and theorising employs Kleining and Witt's (2001) methodological guidance. According to these authors, research is seen as dialogue between the researcher and the topic of research respectively the data that moves between questions, answers and new question.

### ***Explanation of collected data and its analysis***

#### **Empirical data**

Formal interviews were important data sources that were original sources of data as well as being used to triangulate data obtained from participant observation. This was done in combination with primary sources such as documents by the movement organisations and regulators, ministries and other stakeholders. I viewed the archives of FENTAP and FREDEAJUN and collected information from ministries, the regulator, water operators, sector-specific NGOs and professional bodies, and the media.

It is important to note the central importance of the varied methods of data collection by participant observation and action research. These involved group discussions that, given the organisational context, were not formalised into focus groups. Nevertheless, their value for data gathering was similar to focus groups. These group discussions comprised movement



member debates, strategic and political debates, and political negotiations of movement organisations with political actors and public authorities, and also events by social movement organisation for the general public.

The process of data collection was structured by the necessities and flows of participatory and action research into the collective movement processes. My insider-character and active role as organiser of movement activities meant that the key moments for data collection were not formalised and pre-structured but fluid, open and informal. This is also why for many key empirical insights, the only written source are my field notes and memos. Hard fact could be triangulated by other sources and means, but the fluid interpretations of reality and political perceptions of the social movements I worked with were only perceptible in informal ways.

The wealth and breadth of these meetings I have not presented in form of a listing of these informal, action research-oriented meetings and encounters, as this list simply would be too long and would be of little worth for the reader. The density of empirical data obtained in the field can better be expressed by pointing to the more than 50 memos, 210 pages of field notes and 30 “emails to friends” that I have employed in my data analysis for the case study of Peru-Huancayo. In order to demonstrate at least the formalised data collection element, I have listed the most important interviews for both case studies in Annex 1.

The case studies are also based on an extensive database of primary sources. For the case of Uruguay I have catalogued 60 primary documents from sources such as magazines, OSE publications and internal reports, media reports, policy documents, documents from the Commission Oeste, CNDAV, FFOSE and Redes, copies of working documents of the parliamentary commission in 2005, as well as flyers, posters, and emails. For the case study of Peru and Huancayo, the data base is more extensive because the case study captures the national level and the local level of Huancayo. The data base for this case study comprises more than 100 documents that range from internal and public material of FENTAP, ConAguaYvida, FREDEAJUN, SUTAPAH, SEDAM Huancayo, the various municipalities of Huancayo, the Vice-Ministry of Construction and Sanitation, the regulator Sunass, press-cuttings both on national and the local issues, the Defensoria del Pueblo, and so forth.

The database for both case studies was organised in a folder system and categories by source and issue. The primary sources of the databases are not referenced directly in the case study chapters for reasons of legibility and flow of the narrative. Also because most of the

documentation is unpublished, informal or internal reports that cannot easily be referenced for future appreciations. Nevertheless, the case studies are profoundly based in the data set of the primary documentation as much as in the interviews, field notes and memos.

### **Data Analysis**

Grounded theory is a codified, clearly defined method of inductive reasoning and theory building that was initially developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). It has been influenced by subsequent debates, for example between Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Glaser (1992) about the nature of theory building and specific methods. A textbook definition of grounded theory reads: “systemic inductive guidelines for collecting and analyzing empirical materials to build middle-range theoretical frameworks that explain collected empirical material” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p.373). Grounded theory is therefore an emergent theory whose sources of rigour are founded in the codified, transparent processes of data collection, note taking, coding, memo writing, sorting, and writing (Dick, 2005; Glaser, 1992). Dick (2005) supports Glaser’s (1992) point that there are two main criteria for judging the adequacy of the emerging theory: that it fits the empirical situation and that the theory has to work. For Glaser (1992) this means that theory should be helpful to people in the research situation. Thus, grounded theory refers to middle-range theory that is developed inductively from a body of data and means that the resulting theory fits at least one dataset. This contrasts with deductive theorising on the basis of grand theory, without the help of data, and which could therefore turn out to fit no data at all (Dick, 2005).

Notwithstanding the commendable inductive approach, grounded theory remains positivist (Burawoy, 1998). It brackets involvement of researchers as bias and focuses on creating de-contextualised, and thus neither involved nor reflexive generalisations from systematic analysis of data. In addition to remaining positivist, there exists a considerable debate about the use of data and literature. A critique of grounded theory is for example based on the argument that for grounded theory, “theory is the result and not the precondition of research” ((Burawoy, 1998, p.25). This may go too far as grounded theory recognises the utility of literature and thus theoretical work in accessing the empirical field (Dick, 2005). However, it has the tendency to de-contextualise theory and remove the researcher from the social world under study. In this it differs from reflexive research approaches.

A reflexive approach can indeed employ similar data collection and data analysis tools but works in a more cyclical process that moves by questioning and answering between theory and



practice. The key commonality for me lies in the fact that theory is seen as emergent. Instead of testing a hypothesis, the emergent theory approach employs and generates theories that account for the empirical research situation. The reflexive approach, expanding on grounded theory, was chosen as an adequate data analysis system in accordance with the objective of research to investigate and explore a social dynamic, rather than to verify or quantify a theory. The cyclical approach to theorising and data collection, as described above, necessarily builds on the construction and employment of theoretical concepts. In addition, the explorative research and participant observation are approaches that do not lend themselves to testing hypotheses in order to explain. They are usually, and in the case of this research, employed to categorise and create typologies, describe and explore, and to affirm meaning.

**Review of data analysis (coding) in typology theory and case studies**

I now demonstrate an example of the data analysis process with the aim to verify and expose

the analytical process. Box 3 shows the list of primary codes that I developed for the data matrix for the Uruguay case study. The actual coding document has 31 pages and the reader can follow its extent in the page numbers in the box. The matrix overall is organised by the concepts of the typology theory matrix that I develop. The concrete elaboration and additional elements emerged from the data, as for example ‘Movement Action to try to impose implementation post-decision of reform’ or ‘Post-decision fuzzy moment’, which can be found in the box. The latter found entry in the case matrix of Uruguay and since I ran the analysis for Uruguay before the one for Peru, it was included from the beginning when I created the knowledge tree for Peru. In this way, coding and thus knowledge production occurred in a

Background and context	1
POS	3
Hegemonic restructuring	3
Movement Building	3
Movement Building Post Referendum	5
Opposition/ Resistance	7
Framing	7
Framing Post-decision	8
Development of proposal	9
Form and Content of proposal	10
Articulation of Proposal	10
Decision Point	10
Pro-public challenge	10
Crystallisation of pro-public path	11
Process of implementation of alternative path of development	11
Key problems of restructuring	16
Changing role of SMOs	16
Weaknesses and critical points of movement sector	18
Substantive Impact	19
Sector Changes	19
Utility Change Management	20
Political Space	24
Strategy Post Referendum	24
Counter Campaign	25
Election Period / Left government candidate actuation	26
New Left Government	26
Public debate over Proposal Immediately after reform passed	26
Post-decision fuzzy moment	27
Representation	27
Politicised Participation	27
Movement Action to try to impose implementation post-decision of reform	27
"Post pro-public decision" debate about details and character of reform process and objectives	27
Dilution of Reform Content	28
Sector Elites Take-over of change processes	29
Transnational Civil Society	29

**Box 3 Knowledge tree close-up example of content**

process approach similar to Grounded Theory but was more complex since the process of building analytical categories inductively from data was coupled with the inductive-deductive theory building of the typology theory.

By demonstrating the underlying process of structuring knowledge, I aim to make transparent the process and practice of analysis by which I approach reality through systematic means of qualitative data. This format was informed by grounded theory, typology theory and expanded case study method.

### **Summary of methodological considerations**

The methodological foundations of this research are based on qualitative methodology and critical and heuristic social research. These understand that social research is not a natural science exercise in which the conditions are known and predetermined, the inputs calibrated, and the outcomes anticipated (Bourdieu, 2000; Greenwood and Levin, 1998). I argue that this has conceptual and practical consequences for social research. Talking with Cox (1998), research firstly has to be flexible to compensate for changing circumstances. Secondly, research needs to be reflexive in the sense of questioning its own role in the social moment and situation under investigation. Thirdly, social research has to be responsible to and define its relation to the social process it looks into. This is due to the realisation that research in principle is a way of interaction or intervention. Interaction itself is an inevitable affect of any social research. And intervention stems from the simple notion that: "Theory is always for someone and for some purpose" (Cox, 1981, p.128).

Although conventional, positivist social science is convincingly identified to be "an inadequate account of knowledge-creation" (Greenwood and Levin, 1998, p.199), structural reasons sustain it. Nevertheless, critical and heuristic concepts and practices exist and are applied and most importantly give results that not only enrich knowledge but also empower the social situations they study and of which they are intrinsically part of (Kleining and Witt, 2001; Terhorst, 2003). Pierre Bourdieu is right when he argues that researchers need to defend their autonomy and critical mind at times where the neoliberal machinery has conquered almost all realms of our society, including universities (Bourdieu, 2000).

For these reasons critical realism (Cox 1994) is the ontological basis of this research as it is explicitly interventionist. The interpretive and critical paradigms discussed and adopted for this research are heuristic qualitative inquiry as proposed by Kleining and Witt (2001), which allows



the research to go beyond the limitations of hermeneutics and explore rather than describe social reality. In addition, there is the critical theory paradigm, with its focus on material and historical analysis and clear definition of the research purpose as emancipatory and liberating. It guides the critical ethnographic elements of research and the considerations about movement-researcher relations. Values of emancipation, empowerment and social change and the adoption of critical-dialectic perspectives are fundamental for this research.

The research strategies combine to a multi-method approach in which participant observation (critical ethnography), typology study and case study methods interweave. Analysis is based on the circular character of inductive-deductive reasoning that occurs in the question-answer approach of heuristic qualitative research (Kleining and Witt 2001). I furthermore follow the methodological recommendations of George and Bennett (George and Bennett 2005) and combine the extended case study method (Burawoy 1998) with typology theorising. This allows a logical concretisation from the description of the movement sector and the collective beliefs of the transnational movement (participant observation); to the scope of applicability or spread of meaningfulness of their beliefs (established by typology building) and then to the case studies on specific cases (to gain contextual understanding).

It is noteworthy that my preoccupation with the methods of social sciences reflects what George and Bennett have called “new phase of development conducive to cross-method collaboration and multi-method work” (George and Bennett, 2005, p.5). The research is a good, or bad, example of the bricolage approach to qualitative research that Denzin and Lincoln (2000) described. It is an attempt to recognise the crisis of qualitative research by the recognition and embrace of a multi-method approach (Brewer and Hunter, 2005).

***How do urban water movements and research on these matter***

***for engineers and policy-oriented WATSAN professionals?***

The PhD research and its institutional embedding at the Water Engineering and Development Centre (WEDC) follow the logic of interventionist knowledge production of the critical social sciences (Harvey, 1990). It consciously aims to build bridges, communicate and translate between the different epistemological communities of critical social science and engineering/policy-oriented science; and between political actors and professional-academic ones.

Engineers, sector practitioners and policy-oriented academics are the more traditional actors in civil engineering departments and interdisciplinary institutions like WEDC. They are directly involved in planning, implementing and controlling the (re-)shaping of the built environment, infrastructure and service systems whereas political scientists and social movement researchers, seen as more removed from direct bearing, are rare and indeed little understood in their relevance to WATSAN research. This is detrimental considering that the transformation of the built environment and related organisational structures of service delivery is however not just a technical exercise but, as Seppala (2002) argues, an inherently political one.

The built environment needs to be understood, just like state institutions, as condensation of social relations and thus as materialisation of past socio-political decisions and struggles. The perception of such political-ecological perspectives (Castro, 2005; Köhler, 2008) is however limited in institutions of interdisciplinary, policy- and practice-oriented sector institutions and organisations; with detrimental effects to the overall adequacy of research and policy. Indeed, the epistemic communities of sector-specific academic institutions seem to have much scepticism over the value of purely socio-political research without direct and concrete policy application or engineering relevance. One may argue that this perpetrates the powerful actor positions of engineers and policy researchers in the organisational field of WASTSAN.

While the understanding of their own position as powerful actors in the organisational field is not a common trait of engineers and sector professionals, it is also little perceived how social movements matter for engineers and policy. Little heeded are social movements beyond a pathological and diminutive approach to these actors as disruptive and regressive. Notwithstanding, as this research underlines, social movements are much more than that and therefore also matter for engineers and policy-oriented WATSAN academics in interdisciplinary research institutions. And that is because they are also shapers and makers of the built environment.

It is therefore that the relevance of this thesis for an interdisciplinary research institute like WEDC, based in a civil engineering department, is not farfetched but rather a necessary recognition of the interrelation between engineers, social movements and the built environment of WATSAN.

**Box 4 Relevance of research for interdisciplinary sector approaches**



## **4.2. Development of the research approach**

As set out above, the research strategy and approach was informed by the methodological recommendations of George and Bennett (2005). In addition, guidance for the overall research approach and its design was drawn from critical theory and developed through course of the research in an open process-approach.

### **Critical theory programmatic input**

The already mentioned programmatic input by Bieler and Morton (2003) on the alternative strategy in IPE is taken up, which argues for a research route that starts from the subaltern class rather than the dominant forces. It begins with state struggles over hegemony, describes the history of the subaltern classes, in this case the water movements, and focuses on the formations that they produce and their claims. The last point is developed in more detail by the input of organisation theory. Rao et al. (2000) suggest research strategies on the collective definitions of organisational and market failures. The outcomes of social movements, they argue, are to be considered in terms of organisational and institutional change. They propose comparative studies on the impact of movements and new forms in particular organisations (Rao et al., 2000).

Translating this into the concrete PhD research, Rao et al. (2000) propose the study of how movements define the water sector's failures and current trends and how they generate new repertoires relevant to the urban water sector. This also involves comparative studies on the outcome of the water movement sector in terms of organisational change and new forms (types of utility set-ups) at utility and governance level. In addition, the repertoires of movement interventions in one place should be compared to the repertoires discussed in the overall organisational field of the urban water sector.

Another important input is derived from social movement research. In the last decade, rethinking of the production and spread of knowledge has taken place. Doing research on, for and with social movements requires social commitment of researchers to current expressions of social movements that open new spaces of confluence between different kinds of knowledge and experiences. These are sought out in the research process. Also, Cox and Nilsen's (2007) view of the totality of movements implies that research does not expect to find fully-formulated movements from below but can still compose a perspective of movements on urban water and their role in urban water reform. The interventionist character of movement

research as proposed by Cox and Nilsen (2007) also fits well into the research approach. The aim is to discover the highest potential of the movement sector and thereby to learn about its limits and potentials.

Based on these considerations and those on the depth of transformation by Altvater and Mahnkopf (2004), the research looks at the social protagonists of non-conformist challenges, which reach a level of mobility that allows some level of transformation beyond system-immanent change. The key question in this regard, going back to Rao et al. (2000), is how this can impact on the organisations and institutions of urban water and sanitation and thereby on access to services.

It is a challenge to not only do research in reference to movements but also to address the utility and policy level. Policy research, Rist (2000) argues, is often relegated to quick obscurity and faces problems of making research applicable to policy processes. This is even more so the case when research is directed to uncivil social actors such as anti-privatisation movements. In consequence, the research recognises the need to translate between the different realities of movement and policy frameworks, codes and perspectives.

### **The process approach developed the research approach**

The open-ended process approach has allowed for the gradual concretisation of the research problem into the general research question and consequently into the concrete and explanatory research question. The open process approach has a series of overall components. These are the critical conceptualisation of urban WATSAN and conceptual development of appropriation struggles as research framework, empirical research into the global movement sector and its discourse, typology development, case studies, and in-depth qualitative mid-range theory development.

The meso-level perspective of the concrete research question, which deals with the potentials and limitations of the urban water movement sector as an agency for change in the reform of urban water and sanitation, has been developed over the course of the second year of research by participatory research on and with the global movement against water privatisation. Therefore, the research design itself is a product of the research approach.



### **4.3.The research approach**

Considering the ample scope of the progressive research approach I have proposed at the end of Chapter 2, it is necessary for this thesis to develop a concise package of research that is suited for a PhD research and a thesis format. This means that research needs to build a research problem, question and approach that develop single elements of the proposed new agenda in a way that results in research findings that articulate with the proposed agenda and are at the same time relevant for the actors involved.

In the light of the above, the thesis inquiry undertakes investigation into one of the components of the broad research agenda proposed in section 2.5, namely the political process of movementisation of WSS reform. Such an approach is unorthodox for specific research on WSS. It is an important addition to sector specific knowledge, as is often developed in engineering departments of universities; because it enriches the understanding of how technical development of infrastructure and management systems is embedded in socio-political contexts (see also Box 4). The basis for holistic knowledge on WSS is the combination of technical aspects with these political dimensions, the latter enriching sector professional knowledge through innovative insights on why public systems and reform process tend to fail in practice. In consequence, improvements of public sector urban WATSAN can be achieved through the application of the political process model that I develop in this thesis. It allows stakeholders, decision-makers and researchers to better understand the problems and challenges of WSS reform and can thereby lead to better reforms of public sector management in WSS.

#### **The research problem**

As argued in Chapter 3, it is necessary to problematise urban social movements and their transnational networks in terms of the politicised form of participation they engender in the reform of governance and management of urban water and sanitation. The thesis' preoccupation therefore lies in the way in which water movements can have a proactive and constructive role in the reform of management and governance of urban water and what their limitations and barriers are. Such a focus on the political process of social movement politics is a necessary starting point for the consideration of urban water movements at this early stage of research on and with these social movements. The problem to be addressed therefore is in how far urban water movements constitute an opportunity for transforming the path of development of urban water and sanitation. This is an important problem to address because

their properties, ramifications and potentials and their notion of a progressive, democratised public service remain hidden and little understood so far.

This specific research problem is a direct result of the process approach of politicised movement research that underlines the thesis' methodology and was substantiated and validated by the literature review in Chapter 2 and the conceptual framework in Chapter 3. It has determined the object of study by focusing the research on the key debates the social movements have had themselves. It is due to the consideration that one needs to understand the movement struggles and their political intervention and impact, also because such an examination and appraisal is the starting point for knowledge to support and strengthen these struggles. The thesis also touches on the side on issues of public sector organisation, governance structures and development policy but only when related to the thesis' core inquiry into the political process of urban water movements.

There is little theoretical and empirical basis to describe and analyse the functions, meaning and impact, or the overall role of the 'urban water movement sector' and its challenges to policy and management of urban water and sanitation. The potentially resulting constructive and creative impact of this social movement activity on urban water systems is the problematic subject of this research. Importantly, participatory development and water governance are not attuned to the emergence of the movement sector and its different forms of political contestation, with the result that the movement sector's propositions cannot be taken on board by water policy and management.

### **The research question and 'working hypothesis'**

The research addresses a general and a more specific problem. In doing so, it follows the exemplary research approach of Putman (1993). As a result the research question is divided into two questions that formulate a general dimension and a more concrete one. The general dimension reflects the initial frame with which the research started. It is of descriptive character and has been based on the inspirational foundation of the research, my previous critical preoccupation with the empirical world through my Master thesis research (Terhorst 2003), and my personal interest for knowledge.

The more specific problem- related question is of an exploratory nature. It was developed in the course of the research through the iterative process of qualitative research that has allowed the research to focus progressively on one central element. This central element



emerged through the cyclic approach to theory development in the participant observation. In a further step, the explorative problem-specific question has formed the basis for the research design, especially for the elements three and four.

### **The research question**

The general question is about the role of the movement sector in the field of urban WATSAN in general and broad terms. The more specific question takes up one specific theme of the collective belief of the movement sector (as found in the participant observation in the transnational networks and developed in the discourse analysis in Chapter 5) and investigates this collective belief in more depth. During the early phase of the PhD research, I was preoccupied with the discourses and debates of social movements at international events such as the World Social Forum and found that there was a strongly emerging collective stance or frame that the movements themselves, through their articulation of political contestation, created the possibility for emancipatory public water reforms. This belief about the effective role in generating new models of water delivery correlates with an element of the proposed new research agenda on public water.

The general research question is:

***What is the role and influence of the social movements in exploring alternatives to urban water privatisation?***

The more specific question considers:

***What is the political process through which urban water movements' influence the public-democratic reform of urban water and sanitation?***

The more concrete question considers the significance of urban struggles, ergo the political process of movement politics, against water privatisation and in favour of public-democratic reforms of public utilities. Social movements, consumer organisations, NGOs, public utility managers, politicians and trade unions engage in challenges against the predominant private sector-oriented reform agendas and aim at improving and democratising urban water and sanitation. This aim constitutes in itself an interim research result from the research element on the global movement sector (Chapter 5) and constitutes at the same time a starting point for the consequent research elements.

## **The ‘working hypothesis’**

The research was undertaken on the basis of what I call a working hypothesis. It is the working hypothesis of the research that the movement sector has potential to affect a redirection of the path of development of urban WATSAN away from commercialisation, liberalisation and privatisation towards the creation of new organisational forms for public sector management and governance, which increase the likelihood for water for all. The research concerns the challenges for policy and management that these emerging potential roles of the movement sector contain, which are significant because they are expected to not merely be negative demands but have constructive and propositional character and therefore are of importance for the shaping of the path of development. The research upholds that if challenges by the movement were translated into the domain of participatory development, it would foster the capability of water professionals, institutions, and policy to work with the movement sector in order to better achieve water for all.

## **Aim and Objectives**

The research aims to identify and conceptualise the political processes of the movement sector and how it can engender new organisational forms through the democratisation and transformation of public water management and governance. The research thereby aims to explore the role and consequence of movement participation (politicised participation) in the reform of public urban water and sanitation systems. The outspoken political purpose of the research is to understand how movement-induced processes of change can be empowered, maintained and scaled up. The research has the following objectives:

- Develop conceptual understanding to identify and locate the ‘urban water movement sector’.
- Analyse the discourse of the global water justice.
- Explore the impact of the movement sector on urban WATSAN policy, governance and management by analysing the political process of movement contestation in local-national struggles. Gain conceptual insights into the political process of movementisation of urban watsan reform and the related transnationalisation of movement networks.
- Add to the body of knowledge of participation by employing perspectives of politicisation and movement studies.



- Advance social movement study in respect of exploring both the impact of movement and the role of movements to engender change in the public administration of public services.
- Make findings relevant to sector policy and governance and the members of the movement sector.
- Add significantly to the understanding of the political dimension of urban water supply and thus inform about the potentials of emancipatory structural transformation.

The research is limited in scope to the focus of impact and roles of movements and will exclude other typical elements of movement research such as mobilisation dynamics. The aspect of scales of water movements from the local to the global will be taken into consideration because of the very strong transnationalisation of urban water movements and in light of the globalisation tendencies of water policy and governance. The research will not strive to compare and come to analytical clarity on the policy debates between public and private but will focus on the policy contentions of movements from their perspective and relevance. The research is primarily an investigation into movement politics but also takes an institutional approach that links the former to the emerging forms of public utility reform, participation and public service that are engendered and influenced by the political process the movement sector produces.

Expressed differently, the aim of the thesis is to discover the different expressions of the movement sector and thereby to learn about its limits and potentials. Without recreating paternalistic relations, the research attempts to develop knowledge that the participants of research, the movements, can use to gain better understanding of themselves and the social situation. An additional aim of the study is policy relevance, which results in the intention to translate the realities of social movements on urban water to governance, management and professional debates.

#### **4.4. The research design**

The thesis is divided into four elements of research that are summarised in Box 5. These elements were developed in an open-ended process approach in an iterative process. Especially the design of the third and fourth elements of research is a procedural outcome of the empirical and theoretical inquiry into the first and second elements and took place throughout the active research phase.

## Explaining the research elements

1. Review of water sector and critical science debates on urban WATSAN; development of conceptual framework
2. The discourse and political project of the transnational movement sector on urban watsan reform
3. Typology study of movement events with discriminatory factor of concept of movement-reform interaction (pro-public challenge)
4. Case studies on struggles for social appropriation of water systems

Box 5 Elements of research

The first element of research represents the literature review and the development of the conceptual framework. In the second element of research, I empirically investigate the ‘movement sector’ in order to locate the urban water movement in the organisational field of urban water and sanitation, especially in the context of peripheral countries and at transnational level. This second element of research is necessary because no adequate literature has been found that systematically reviews this particular grouping of social actors at the transnational and international level. Key aspects here are the policy stance of the movement sector and discourses on urban WATSAN: The analysis focuses on the collective beliefs of the participants of the movement sector, in form of their declarations at international conferences.

An interim finding of this element is that these collective beliefs are shifting constantly and have become, speaking with Khagram et al. (2002), policy stances. They are therefore relevant for the current debates on the path of development of urban WATSAN reform. In addition to their exterior relevance, these collectively held positions are also important in order to gauge and assess the actual actions of the movement sector itself. In that sense, the policy stances are also used to evaluate the success and impact of the movement challenges and whether the collective beliefs and more concrete expectations on the movement sector’s role are achieved in real terms.

The third and fourth elements provide different research strategies for the same research object, which is the building of meso-level theory to capture and analyse the roles and impact of water movements on water and sanitation services reform, both in terms of governance and management. These roles are considered on the basis of the findings of the second research elements and thus correlate with the collective beliefs of the movements.

The third element is a comparative study in the form of a typology study that qualitatively explores the collectively held views of social movements at the international level regarding



the active role of movements in WATSAN reform processes. As an interim result, I develop the category of pro-public challenge and thereby develop a conceptual frame for the empirical findings of the second research element. The typology in this sense checks the empirical relevance of the collective belief about local struggles and movement participation in reforming public utilities.

The fourth research element then builds on the insights of the comparative inquiry and develops two in-depth case studies in order to assess the meaningfulness of the collective discourse on the emancipatory role of movements in WATSAN reform processes. This allows for a contextual and detailed account and the participatory development of heuristic and explorative recommendations on how to strengthen such movement-utility interaction or pro-public challenges.

### **Explaining the logical flow of the thesis**

The elements build on the logic of empirical research as set out by George and Bennett (2005) that starts with a literature review and the development of a conceptual framework. Then, it moves via a general critical ethnographic inquiry on the movement sector and the clarification of its beliefs and policy stances (second element) to a comparative, qualitative analysis of the scope of relevance and meaningfulness of one specific core phenomenon on which the movement sector and its beliefs are built (third element). This core phenomenon has been identified as the constructive interaction of urban social movements in the reform of utilities. In a last step, the research studies two of these specific cases in depth and detail in the form of case studies (fourth element).

The first two elements construct a theoretical understanding and empirical clarity for the global level, of how the movement sector is articulated and what it holds as realist utopia or alternative path of development. The third element elaborates, via a comparative study, the meaningfulness of this policy belief in terms of existing experiences of pro-public challenges, in which movements interact in utility reform processes. The case study method then explores the way in which the movement sector and urban utilities interact in reform processes in more depth in order to develop heuristic knowledge.

In summary, the research logic starts from the transnational movement sector's actions and beliefs to establishing its actual scope of relevance, and finally explores two specific cases with the aim of strengthening the movement sector's capacity. Capacity is understood in terms of

internal capacity of resources, means, transnational solidarity, concepts and so forth but also in terms of its communicability to the organisational field of urban WATSAN. It is here that the concept of participation and politicised participation are turned to and applied in order to translate and find common ground between the movement sector and WATSAN professionals.

#### **4.5. The emergent research practice of politicised social movement research**

##### **Explaining the emergent movement research approach**

The research is based on an emergent practice of social movement research. It is important and necessary to present the research practice I have followed in its emergent form of engaged and interventionist research. Militant research (Shukaitis et al., 2007), or activist research and engaged movement research, as I would rather call it, I consider as research in an involved manner with and for social movements. Such interventionist and critical-supportive research practice is being implemented amongst others by the academy-based Colectivo Situaciones (2000) in Argentina.

Militant research is intensively debated on a range of topics related to activism, intellectual work, and activist research. There are numerous facets and various understandings of the term but in general there is common agreement in that it incorporates mutually beneficial and productive relationships between scholars and social movement organisations (SMOs). Research in this sense has, in the last decade, engaged in rethinking the production and spread of knowledge from, for and with social movements (Shukaitis et al., 2007). At the centre of the debate lies the required social commitment of researchers to current expressions of social movements, which open new spaces of confluence between different kinds of knowledge and experiences (for example see Militant Investigation, 2004).

My specific approach is influenced by the considerations of Cox (1998), who argues for the empowerment through such research practice on the basis of a critical realist methodology that I have already explained. This enables, according to Cox (1998), a more complex understanding of research activity and points to important political and ethical issues around the potential value and limitations of research for participants and researchers alike. It correlates with the notion that sociological intervention in the sense of Alan Tourraine (as discussed by Mathers and Novelli, 2005) should lead participants of research to come to adopt a more adequate understanding of the movement. While Mathers and Novelli (2005) caution



that such an approach can turn paternalistic, Cox (1998, p.13) argues that it depends on whether researchers have engaged closely with the participants.

Knowledge is to be useful to movement activists in the sense of capacitating them to expand strategic thinking with a 'point of totality': of seeing the movement, its opponents and the social totality as all open to intervention and transformation.

### **Implications for research practice**

For the practice of research, there are implications in terms of the politics of research and reflexivity. Firstly, strategies of research into movement contexts are affected and indeed are parallels of the organising modes of movements. This means that there is necessarily a politics of research where researcher and participant can collide or collaborate. In addition, the researchers' knowledge interest and perspectives are important elements in research and need to be not only recognised but also coordinated with movement activists into shared research activity. The researcher's own standpoint and knowledge interest thereby becomes a critical part of reflexive research. Given the particular starting points of such a politics of knowledge, which is understood as the precarious communication between participants and researchers, such an analysis allows research activity to fit into perspectives of participants.

In order to be a meaningful form of activist engagement, the researcher must be flexibly available to the local partners and develop a system of work organisation that fits the temporalities and needs of partners. This requires activist research to develop specific research methods in order to produce outcomes and disseminate these in ways that are helpful and adequate for their social movement partners. Also, contradictions and ambiguities need to be confronted, since critical engagement also requires independence and critique.

### **Review of the process**

For the PhD period, this meant that research planning was difficult and haphazard, which resulted in longer and scattered periods of field exposure and recurrent return to the field also at points in time when traditionally it was the writing up period. The qualitative, heuristic and open-ended methodology was necessary for the activist research and insider position of this empirical research. This approach has required me as researcher to be open and take on various perspectives. The explorative nature of the research required a constant dialogue between my position as insider researcher of the movement organisations and the topic of research, moving between questions, answers and new question.

In terms of developing a movement-related research practice, Peru and the embedded case of Huancayo was the central case study. The open-ended process approach allowed me to expand participatory research to take on an explicit insider role in the national federation of water sector unions FENTAP. I worked as an advisor for FENTAP and as an academic researcher with the local SMOs in the city of Huancayo, where my main embedded case study for the appropriation of a water utility is situated. In the course of the research, a concession in Huancayo was cancelled, a public alternative development plan was generated by the local movement organisation and an international (south-south), public-public partnership agreement signed. My access and active involvement in these processes represent an emergent practice of politicised movement investigation.

The articulation of findings during the ongoing knowledge production process was a requirement. The thesis' analysis for example was disseminated to the participant movements on a constant basis and at the end of data analysis the research results were shared and discussed in the form of written input to a social movement conference. This event I consider as closing the circle of activist research. It has legitimised the research and tested my findings. In terms of methodology it fulfilled the key objective of the research: to be relevant and useful for the social movements that I partnered with.

The relevance and appropriateness of the research output can be demonstrated as well through the series of publications and presentations. These exemplify the adequacy of the research approach, practice and produced knowledge and stand for the ongoing dialogue of my research with academic debates and socio-political debates. I have listed the most relevant publications and presentations in Annex II. I have omitted in this list the numerous presentations at social movement conferences and public events where my research insight were as well shared with a movement-related public and a general public, as such presentations are not as relevant for a doctoral thesis.

### **Discussing the lessons learnt**

Taken together, the stepping out of the common scope of academic perception and stepping into a volatile world of moving social forces is a formidable challenge. What can be added to this challenge is the need to position oneself in that field. Positionality of the researcher is a fundamental element because getting close to movements, and therefore being able to produce relevant knowledge, requires a level of access and trust that, at least in my emergent



practice, was reached by making one's own (my own) positionality in the field transparent. This allowed the research to develop inside-type strategies of research, which meant that without losing my objective perspective, the research involved active engagement in the organisational practices of the social movements that I studied.

In addition, on a more introperspective level, the research stands in close relations to my own political life and the politics I undertake and live in my day to day practices and life-world.

What I am trying to argue is that the research with and for social movements on water has been necessarily linked with the socio-political activism I do besides writing a PhD thesis. My socio-political positions are inherently linked to the multitude of struggles over water around the world. This fact I want to highlight by Picture 1. It was taken during a demonstration in Berlin on the 12 of July 2008 in Kreuzberg, my home district, against a housing development

scheme at the river Spree. The picture exemplifies the relations of water as an object of social struggle in my life world and shows that it is not only through intellectual, academically codified work that I engage in and intervene in water politics. I also do so in my day to day life.



Picture 1 "water is beautiful" at a protest march in Berlin

With this rather unorthodox clarification of my position, I

hope to make comprehensible the way that I have undertaken the research in an involved and integrated manner, which is also transparent and objective. Academic writing is, besides being a codified production of knowledge, a political and a personal endeavour. I am an activist and researcher combining academic standards, forms and measures with the recognition of the political character of any set of knowledge (production). In this way, I develop relevancy for social movements which are understood as empowered subjects.



## **Comparison with policy research**

Such a research practice emerged in the course of the research endeavour. Despite its uncoded nature, it is comparable to more traditional and widely accepted policy research in that it presents analogous objectives of developing knowledge for a defined set of socio-political actors. This means that questions around neutrality, objectivity and adequacy of research with and for social movements are similar to research directed to policy makers.

The key differences are two-fold. Policy research is a widespread approach and well established in the research community because it fits into the hegemonic forms of donor-driven and government-driven knowledge production. It perpetrates dominant societal relations. In contrast, social movement research addresses actors that are at the margin of established political and social institutions and are situated outside of dominant or hegemonic discourses. Researchers are often hit by a stigma for contemplating knowledge production for socio-political actors and interests outside the common scope of academia's self-serving predisposition and selective perception. That is the first difference and it makes movement researchers to be constantly on the defensive.

The other problem faced by researchers involved in struggles and realities of social movements is that their research subjects are autonomous actors with specific, often volatile temporalities, conjunctures, expressions and organisational forms. This makes researching their organisations, discourses, actions and impacts an unpredictable and complex endeavour that can hardly be planned and prepared in advance. In contrast, policy environments are relatively stable and have firmly established channels, institutions and times and spaces.

### **4.6. Articulation of the research results at a movement conference**

From the 23<sup>rd</sup> to the 25<sup>th</sup> of August, 2008, the conference-seminar "Water: common good, public management and alternatives - The alternatives to privatization and commercialisation of water. Public and community water and the human right to water in the Americas" was held in the city of Cochabamba, Bolivia. More than 60 organisations from more than 15 countries in the Americas attended the conference-seminar that was hosted by the Red Vida network, the Transnational Institute and the Reclaiming Public Water Network and supported by a series of civil society organisations from around the Americas. As Jeff Conant from the NGO 'Food and Water Watch' explained in an email communication to an important list serve of the global water movements: "This meeting marks a moment in which we have passed from resistance to



the construction of alternatives”(Conant, 03.09.2008). The conference was co-organised by me person as part of my work at the Transnational Institute and my involvement in the Reclaiming Public Water Network. It was the latest of a number of events that I co-organised as activist in the course of my active engagement in water politics.

My work for the conference was also firmly related to the endeavour of movement research that I have pursued throughout the PhD research. In fact, it was the point of finalisation of what I call the movement *research methodological cycle*. What I mean by that, is that in the emergent research practice of movement research that I have argued for and followed in the research and thesis, I have closed the loop of knowledge generation, legitimisation and sharing. The conference-seminar I understand as political space, in which I returned the generated knowledge back into the sphere of the social movements. I did so by communicating the findings and results and thereby making them available for social learning amongst the movements. It was a means of testing my results as much as legitimising my research endeavour by returning value to the movements in the form of movement-relevant knowledge.

I started the research years ago by looking at the global water movement sector and asking myself what their struggles were about and what potentials they had. The concerns, frames and opportunities I found in their discourses and vision I turned into the research questions and developed a research approach and methodological framework that could capture the richness of the movements and at the same time generate knowledge useful to them. Then I critically involved myself in the struggles, at global and at local level, the latter especially in the city of Huancayo, and became an insider to these struggles. I was an activist whose form of action was academic research.

Then, after years of activist–researcher intervention, I turned back into my sole role as analyst and returned to my desk to think and write. This individual phase and the output in form of written research outputs, presented in this thesis, however remained removed from the movements that I had partnered with and become part of. That is why I needed to close the research cycle by feeding my findings back into the movements. I thereby checked their validity and legitimised the individual and secluded act of knowledge production that is so much the reality of academic life but at times can be of so little help to collective learning processes within movements. I even delayed the finishing of the thesis and thus my achieving a doctoral degree in order to return the knowledge I produced in this mix of collective learning

and individualistic-academic research to the movements. This was necessary because the basic foundation of the research was to intervene by knowledge production in the political struggles for public water in critical, engaged and objective ways.

I integrated the research findings and results into the conference by feeding them into one of three thematic workshops, whose title was: “The evaluation of the struggles for water in the Americas, analysing our resistance and proposals around public and community management and PUPs”. The idea of this debate was to discuss and analyse the struggles, hopes and problems of the construction of public-community water systems and public-public partnerships and therefore was the same as the basic research problem posed in this thesis. The insight of my research was the starting point of the collective debate and learning. The debate acknowledged and sustained the line of argument of the thesis on the different types of struggles from defence to privatisation, propositional struggles in search of alternatives, and struggles to maintain the implementation of public-community management. The participants for example confirmed that pro-public challenges occur at different levels of constitutions, legislations, policies, management systems, and regulation.



## **5. Data and Analysis I: The global water justice movement**

*Chapter 5 is the first empirical chapter and sets out the discourse and political project of the transnational movement networks. After explaining the analytical approach that combines Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 in section 5.1, I define and describe in section 5.2 the global water justice movement. Then, I analyse the discursive development and identify an emergent discourse frame. The next element is the discussion of the movement project and the strategies at local and transnational level. The chapter closes with a summary and a discussion of interim findings that lead on to the following chapter.*

### **5.1. Public water: heuristic discourse, emancipatory project and analytical category**

The ontological starting points of the thesis have been described as the water justice movement and its transnational and local expressions of (urban) water struggles. This chapter's analysis demonstrates that these are linked intrinsically to the concept of public water. In consequence, the thesis takes up the concept of public water and develops and employs it in three different but interrelated ways, in order to structure the empirical inquiry and resulting theory development:

- as the heuristic discourse of the water movements,
- as the emancipatory political project of the movements, and
- as analytical category, by which the discourse and project can be appraised.

The first of these three uses of public water presents the heuristic and evolving discourse of the movements. This is what I empirically investigate in this chapter. In order to so, I begin by describing and systemising a, what I call, *social movement sector*. It circumscribes the water justice movement in a conceptual way and helps to identify its organisational background and set-up. That movement sector, I go on to argue, has developed a movement frame of public water in the form of a heuristic discourse. This distinctive and converging movement frame on public water is structured around the notions of anti-privatisation, public alternatives and the movements' agency in water politics. Based on the heuristic discourse, the last section then identifies the emancipatory project of the movement sector according to movement strategies, which articulate and seek to implement positive, constructive demands of the above mentioned discourse.

## **5.2.The global water justice movement**

This section describes and determines what I call the global water movement sector and analyses the transnational networks of water movements' organisational processes, structures and foundations at local and primarily at transnational scale. I do so in conceptual and not narrative form because the objective is to explain the characteristic of the movement in relation to the alter-globalisation movement and the concept of globalisation from below.

### **Foundational expressions of the transnationalised movements**

The Peoples' World Water Movement was symbolically launched on the 14<sup>th</sup> of January 2004 during the Peoples' World Water Forum in New Delhi, India (Peoples' World Water Forum, 2004). Since the 1990s, similar network declarations concerning a globalised water movement have been voiced repeatedly, such as the "Global Water Contract" (Petrella, 2001) and the "Treaty Initiative to Share and Protect the Global Water Commons" (Blue Planet Project, 2001). Despite their heightened importance and momentum of water movements in the late 1990s that correlated with the privatisation trend (Barlow and Clarke 2003), little evidence-based research and no satisfactory theoretical clarity exists today on the transnationalisation of water movements. Some exceptions are Davidson-et al. (2007) and Pratzsch (2006) that show that by 2006 the organisational and discursive development of the transnational movements and networks against water privatisation and commodification had grown and consolidated significantly.

A milestone occurred in March 2006 when more than 300 organisations from 40 countries signed the declaration of the International Forum on the Defence of Water (International Forum on the Defense of Water, 2006), held in Mexico City in opposition to the fourth World Water Forum (IRC, 2006). This manifested the existence of social movements around the world composed by "activists from social movements, non-governmental organizations, and networks that struggle throughout the world in the defence of water and territory and for the commons" (International Forum on the Defense of Water, 2006, [s.l.]). Indeed, there have been a large number of local social and political struggles against water privatisation in all continents (Balanya et al. 2005; Barlow and Clarke, 2003; Pierri, 2005).



## ***Water justice movements with the bracket of globalisation from below***

### **Globalisation from above**

The water justice movement can be circumscribed by a comparison between globalisation from above and globalisation from below (compare Skidmore, 2001). These are two differing flows of globalisation or transnationalisation, both based on the development of information-technology. The former is based on flexible network capitalism (Castells, 1996) and is regulated through an institutionalisation by regimes like the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO, while being a changing process organised by management elites, transnational corporations, nation state politicians, bureaucracies and media elites (Vinhagen, 2003). In the field of WATSAN, it refers to state-political actions, transnational corporations and multilateral regimes as driving forces of change in the field of urban WATSAN. Morgan referred to this as the new global water welfarism (Morgan, 2006), considering that new inclusions are produced by global governance in a process referred to as rolling out new neoliberal norms and institutions (Peck and Tickell, 2002) and thus practices in urban WATSAN.

### **Globalisation from below**

Globalisation from below in contrast is driven by networks that challenge and democratise these globalised flows. While cooperative civil society networks (Partzsch, 2006) for example cooperate with corporations (Skidmore, 2001) and therefore can be argued to engage in the re-regulation of global water welfarism, the critical, heterogeneous networks of transnational social movements demand more radical changes to global political structures and policies. Often blurring the division between these two types, globalisation from below of urban WATSAN is driven by complex actor constellations of international labour organisations and international nongovernmental organisations (compare Kahn and Kellner, 2007) and most significantly by the trans-local networking of localised struggles, local social movements organisations and their trans-local interaction. Instead of resembling a coherent global civil society, globalisation from below is fragmented and composed of uneven networks. A critique voiced to such networks is that they favour new elites in civil society and are biased to the influence of western or Northern countries in the setting of the global opposition agenda (Vinhagen, 2002; 2003).

Its historical roots lie in the 1970s and 1980s with the emergence of grassroots struggles and collective subjects. These emerged around issues of food, land and water and in the context of

the new opportunities and requirements of the changing political global scenarios in the post-cold war world, such as the growing importance of UN conferences (Costa, 2007). Today, the transnationalised water movement sector focuses on fundamental questions of rights and public goods production and distribution, grounding debates on water sector development, and thus on poverty and development in a more general sense. The defining feature of globalising WASTAN from below is in that the chains of confrontations at the local level are not symbolic but relate to concrete material struggles against corporate globalisation and liberated market forces, repoliticising the market and transnationalising civil society and resistance. These flows are part of the globalisation dynamics, even though they stand in opposition to neoliberal and corporate globalisation and contest the role of society in economics and economic practices that are to be re-embedded in social structure and needs.

### **Localism as defining factor of water struggles' transnationalism**

Globalisation from below in general has been discussed primarily in relation to mass mobilisations that occur in temporal spaces characterised by symbolic confrontations. As argued by Vinthagen (2006), these sensationalize the strategic power struggle around the legitimacy of powerful institutions, rules and norms. Such temporal convergence spaces and symbolic challenges at international level are also part of the repertoires and practices of the transnational water movements, for example when they mobilise against the World Water Forum, the World Bank and similar bodies.

However, the particularity of water movements is that their core strategic anchor point is different to that of the alter-globalisation movement in general. Instead of temporal global arenas of politics, the main and crucial pillars of movement activities are the localised material struggles. Water movements remain fundamentally embedded in their local polities and the water systems, those productive and governance systems where public goods of urban WASTAN are produced and distributed. Whatever level of transnationalisation they may reach and however many scales and levels of mobilisation and articulation they may develop, water movements will by their nature necessarily remain primarily bound to their water systems. This embeddedness to local and national material and governance systems of water means that the typical anti-globalisation action repertoires (see Vinthagen, 2006) of issue-oriented campaigns and utopian social change, personalisation of politics and politicising the world, and system-abiding and system-critical methods, take specific expression in trans-local networks.



### ***The bracket of the alter-globalisation movement***

The water justice movements correlate with the so-called alter-globalisation or anti-globalisation movements. Indeed they are a constitutive part of these while also involving discourse communities and types of actors that are typically not understood as intrinsic parts of the alter-globalisation movement (for a review of the alter-globalisation movement see Eschle and Maiguashca, 2005). The alter-globalisation movements emerged in the late 1990s on the basis of ideological and discursive foundations of anti-corporate globalisation. Their time of emergence positions the transnational water movements firmly in this context.

### **Correlations and correspondences**

One correlation between the alter-globalisation and water justice movements is that protest events induced international public attention. For the anti-corporate globalisation movement, this began with Seattle in 1999 (Eschle and Maiguashca, 2005) while the water movement saw the light of global media attention shortly after in early 2000, with the protests in Cochabamba, Bolivia. The so-called 'Water War of Cochabamba' (Terhorst, 2008) served as a mobilising myth for water movements all over the world. Just like Seattle, it opened the space of opportunity for movement action, in this case for the re-municipalisation and consequent improvement of the municipal public utility under social control and participation. Another correspondence is that the challenges and historic opportunities opened by events like Seattle or Cochabamba were so far reaching and radical that the movements could not deliver them. The Cochabamba struggle for example has failed so far in its objective to create an effective alternative to neoliberal globalisation and failing (peripheral-capitalist) state structures of public service delivery. What did not work on the micro-level in Cochabamba was even more remote at the global level of Seattle.

We can also find correlations in how these movements have been referred to. Names for the diverse social movement resistances to neoliberal globalisation range from 'anti-corporate globalisation movement' or 'global justice movement' to the 'movement of movements'. These different names emphasise the network characteristic and "the political idea of global solidarity based in the tremendous diversity of resistance" (Kahn and Kellner, 2007). Anti-globalisation movement was replaced with alter-globalisation, emphasising the movements' own effects of globalising resistance and aiming for different types of international and transnational solidarity and social and political transformation. A similar trajectory took place for the water movements. Early references were made to the movement against water

privatisation. As over time diversity and complexity of their political outlook moved from rather simple anti-corporate discourses to argumentations on rights, democratisation and so forth, analysts today refer to it as the “global water justice movement” (Davidson-Harden et al., 2007) in correspondence with the ‘global justice movement’.

The diversity of struggles and actors in the water movements can therefore be substantiated with an analysis on the alter-globalisation movements that understands resistance to globalisation as containing struggles that are highly complex and contradictory and can range from progressive to reactionary (Kahn and Kellner, 2007). Vinthagen therefore argues that the movements unite through pluralism of methods and political minimalism, referring to the notion of “one No and many Yes’s” (Vinthagen, 2006, p.8–9). One key difference of the sub-field of water movements however is that unlike the alter-globalisation movement as a whole, the debates and conflicts about what the many Yes’s are, constitute an integral and crucial part of the movement’s discourse and process. This is especially the case for questions around how effective alternative solutions can be in generating and meeting rights and in conceptualising and implementing functioning public and community water systems.

### **The anti-corporate frame as foundation**

The identification of the water movements within the framework of the alter-globalisation movement suggests that there is a shared centre of ideology and strategic vision, in the form of what Skidmore (2001) called an anti-corporation discourse. Water movements in their shape today are at their foundation anti-corporate, as exemplified by a quote from a web portal for Southern civil society:

And yet the ‘water crisis’ has continued to worsen. (...) Agricultural and industrial pollution is degrading the quality of fresh water supplies everywhere. Yet the biggest threat to universal access to clean water and adequate sanitation is not mother nature but corporate globalization” (Choike, 2008, [s.l.]).

The anti-corporate perspective of the water movements draws on critiques of capitalist and modernist development and the related political processes and structures that are considered through the looking glass of social inequality, power and poverty, building on criticisms on trade, development cooperation and debt. This anti-corporate perspective became the major galvanising point and unifying initial frame for the water movements across the world. As I will discuss further on in this chapter, this initial anti-corporate frame has, in the course of the last ten years of movement development, given rise to a more complex and remarkable set of movements and discourses today.



## ***Conceptually circumscribing the movements as transnational movement sector***

### **The urban water movement sector**

In order to describe and appraise the 'global water justice movement' (Davidson-Harden et al., 2007), I develop a working definition of the 'urban water movement sector'. It combines local social movement struggles on urban WATSAN issues and their transnationalisation in forms of networks and coalitions. The concept comprises a variety of actors such as NGOs, trade unions, public utilities and their associations, occasionally members of political parties and primarily social movement organisations. These collective social actors function and organise in local and national campaigns as well as different networks and coalitions at regional and transnational scales. The decisive distinction and definition of the urban water movement sector as social movement is based on the sector's orientation on and preferences for social change (McCarthy and Zald, 1977) and political consciousness, or conscientisation (Castells, 1983). Excluding cooperative civil society networks (Partzsch 2006) from the definition, boundaries for the movement sector are drawn by way of objectives of social change and political consciousness and not in relation to a certain organisational type.

The local social movements that are the constituents of the transnational movement sector are mostly city-based, urban movements that work on privatisation issues. Excluded from consideration are movements concerning water resources or issues such as large scale infrastructure development (dams, canals etc). Having said this, it is clear that these issues and movements are interwoven with urban services and urban social movements, which means that this is not a clear cut definition and indeed the empirical evidence shows that more and more urban water movements are starting to consider water resource issues as well. It is a division that recognises that social movements like the anti-dam movements are movement sectors in their own right. In result, the concept of 'urban water movements' is used for this research in reference to these conceptual considerations while I employ the concept of a sector of social movements in order to emphasise the unity in diversity of the different strands of movement actors within this social group that is joined by a common frame and organisational sphere.

The movement sector is understood as a set up of 'mixed actor coalitions' (Khagram et al., 2002) that are complex in terms of organisations involved, epistemological differences and forms of activity and political outlook. The movement sector concept is based on the expansive definition of transnational nonstate actors developed by Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink

(2002), which includes all the relevant actors working to influence social change in one particular issue area. Transnational, international, national and local NGOs, trade unions and other types of social movements are the primary actors. Sub-elements of state administrations, intergovernmental organisations and nonstate actors such as foundations, research institutes, epistemic communities, corporations, and domestic interest groups can also be included (Khagram et al., 2002). State agencies, political parties, and intergovernmental organisations may be critical in the processes of 'urban water movements' but are conceptualised a priori as external to the 'urban water movements' in order to draw out opportunity structures and other aspects.

Epistemic communities and research institutes are also mostly defined as external but a few key organisations are included within the framework, as they provide knowledge and a common discourse that constitutes elementary characteristics. One key example here is the Public Services International Research Unit (PSIRU), which as trade union think tank and academic research organisation occupies a key role in development knowledge for the 'urban water movements'. In consequence, the categorisation of the social movement sector does not determine a vigorous cut off point as the force field of movements is fluid, open to interpretation and in a process of creation and change.

### **The movement sector as limited representation of subaltern voices**

The movement sector comprises civil society actors that are movement-centred and politically conscious and willing to re-politicise water issues. This character of contestation makes them different from civil society groups that solely cooperate in structures and processes of global governance. The latter are, as explained above, excluded from the definition of the movement sector. While the movement sector is in constant opposition to these conformist civil society groups, it is worth asking how far the movement sector actually presents or represents subaltern voices.

Subaltern studies inform us that in the dominant mode of production and its narrative subaltern voices are ignored (Yeboah, 2006). Critics have argued that the typical actors in the water movements tend not to represent subaltern strategies and indeed are not necessarily a reflection of subaltern daily practices (Yeboah, 2006). I agree that movement organisations do not necessarily account for subaltern interests and daily practices and day to day struggles but argue that they are an organised political expression of plebeian interests that is necessarily



partial and limited and if not constituting then at least oriented towards the subaltern. In addition, there is a differentiation between members of social movements and movement constituents. The subaltern are likely to fall under the second category.

Also, in the wake of the Gramscian understanding of civil society as a domain of struggle over hegemony, this is a question of political power and representation where subaltern voices are more likely but not necessarily represented. Nevertheless, the proletariat or the working classes have regained a revival because of single groups and single issue struggles that are not categorical representations of all subaltern people and interests (Cleaver, 2000).

### **5.3.The movement sector's discourse**

#### **Introduction**

In this section I introduce and analyse the discourse development of the water movement sector. In order to do so, I mainly refer to declarations by local movement actors and transnational movement networks. I argue that the movement discourse has undergone a series of qualitative shifts and has developed an overall convergence frame. Also, the discourse over time has moved towards the concrete in its reference to public sector water systems and the role of social movements in water politics and reform processes. I start with discussing the opportunity structures of the World Social Forums and localised movement struggles, which served as crystallisation points for the discursive development of the movement sector.

#### **The World Social Forum and local struggles as opportunity structures**

##### **Water movements and the World Social Forum**

The World Social Forum (WSF) has, since 2001, turned into the most prominent nodal point of the alter-globalisation movement. And just as academic debate assigns to the WSF the capability “to characterize an alternative to capitalist globalization” (Kahn and Kellner, 2007, [s.l.]), so stands the WSF as main reference point for the global water movements. They have used the WSF as a platform and open space to mobilise, coordinate and formulate common grounds, debate differences and move, as I will show below in the discourse analysis, from their initial anti-corporate starting point to a more complex and cogent discourse and political articulation of alternatives to privatisation. The WSF combines traditional types of representations, like unions, with new types, such as NGOs and new social movements and combines single-issue politics in contests against neoliberal globalisation.

The discursive development of the transnational water movements found its most continuous and organic opportunity structure in the convergence space of the World Social Forum. The WSF was the primary locus in which the water movements crystallized and transnationalised. The Forum has been a platform of articulation for the water movements and was conducive to the emergence and tighter-knitting of the movement sector. It is an open space with some important foundations of political positions, strategic outlook and organizational forms (Sen et al., 2004), where the movements could converge and debate. The World Social Forum is a space that structures a minimum consensus for the movements to build on. World Social Forums are:

guided by peoples' fight to achieve dignity and respect for human, political, social, economic and cultural rights in the firm belief that 'another world is possible', a world which takes the principles of liberty, self-determination, integration, cooperation, solidarity, co-existence, peace and social justice as the indispensable basis for realising the full potential both of human beings and of the peoples of the world (Parliamentary Forum, WSF 2006, [s.l.]).

The anti-neoliberal outlook of the WSF is clearly coupled with a progressive rights approach and it seeks to strengthen peoples' "integration and cooperation as alternatives to neoliberalism" (Parliamentary Forum WSF, 2006, [s.l.]). The WSF is a key moment in transnational civil society building because it is the most important space where demands are raised for the recognition of grassroots movements' role in the construction of alternatives to neoliberal globalisation. Water movements are constituent parts of the Forums. This is demonstrated by the pronouncement on water and sanitation in the general statement of the WSF: "We consider water to be a human right and therefore reject its privatisation" (Parliamentary Forum WSF, 2006, [s.l.]).

More generally, it is of interest that the WSF refers to socio-economic impoverishment and the damage to the systems of production. The final declaration of the sixth WSF argues that the imposed neoliberal model has:

caused serious damage to the system of production, damage which has led throughout the world to unprecedented levels of poverty, inequity, inequality and exclusion, and is adversely affecting the development, sustainability and governance of our countries (...) reflected in lack of adequate public services, the lack of access to water resources and environmental degradation" (Parliamentary Forum WSF, 2006, [s.l.]).

In this way, the WSF's overall discourse indirectly points to and problematises one of the core questions of the water movements' discursive developments until now. Namely the question of how to realise the full potentials of societies (on the basis of rights), in other words how to assure that sustainable public water systems meet the human right to water. This is a crucial



question in the perspective of the WSF and the movement sector who consider the world to be dominated by neoliberal globalisation that systematically damages systems of production and leads to impoverishment.

The fact that the above quoted WSF statement stems from the final declaration of the so-called World Parliamentary Forum of the WSF also indicates that traditional political actors in representative, parliamentary political structures are found to seek an articulation between the WSF, its civil society actors and political parties and carriers of political-representational authority. This dimension of civil society articulation with representative state structures at this transnational level of the WSF draws the attention to the need for such collaboration at the local, national and international level, which is surely a contentious and challenging issue at all levels and scales.

### **Local-national struggles as opportunity structures**

Another locus for the discursive development of the water movements, and certainly the one more related to the actual lifeworld of the movements, are the local-national struggles and their contexts. Indeed, the World Social Forum could only function as converging open space on the basis of and because of the extrapolation of local-national struggles into the transnational sphere. An early and important example for this process of a local struggle leading to a globally recognized movement statement is the Ghanaian National Coalition against Privatisation (NCAP) and the 2001 'Accra Declaration on the Right to Water'. The latter is a movement platform call that is clearly based on and embedded in the experiences and exigencies and thus the learning and framing in the local-national struggles of NCAP. At the same time as calling into existence the national coalition NCAP that is organized in local action committees, the Accra Declaration is also the basis for the transnationalisation of the Ghanaian water resistance. The call was recognized as an important point of reference and gathered international support for NCAP. I will turn to the content of the Accra declaration in more detail below as I want highlight at this point the strategic approach of the declaration.

The Accra Declaration describes a considered set of movement demands that are based on a clear and sound reflection of the realities and challenges of both the Ghanaian water sector and the water movements. It is embedded and grounded in the water struggle in Ghana and succeeds in formulating a succinct and strategic political discourse of the water movement. It is a movement discourse that is complex and reflexive. For example, it critically calls on and

engages with different political actors, instead of merely criticising political parties and political authorities for their pro-privatisation policies, as can be the case with water movement declarations. And it argues for a re-engagement with the public sector. Because of this considered approach the declaration positions the movement actors as relevant and noteworthy agents in the water sector. It does so by not only framing and calling into existence NCAP but also by strategising to transnationalise the Ghanaian discourse and political practice. For these reasons it has been of quite some importance for the global water movement sector, which has for years looked at Ghana as an exemplary struggle against water privatisation.

### **The discursive development: a shift towards public water and democratisation**

Public water is a category that appeared in the literature review as movement-related terminology and as conceptual debate. In order to develop a heuristic-analytical category of public water with which pro-public water struggles and the urban water movement sector can be linked, I develop now its ontological foundation in the water movement discourse. The following analysis is based on an appraisal of the series of movement declarations from 2002 to 2006.

### **Explanation on (presentation of) data analysis**

The data analysis of the series of movement declarations from the year 2000 to the year 2006 comprises the following movement declarations:

- The Cochabamba Water Declaration, in 2000 (International Conference of Cochabamba, 2000)
- The Accra Declaration on the Right to Water, in 2001 (National Forum on Water Privatization, 2001)
- The Porto Alegre Water Declaration, in 2002 (Informal Water Caucus 2002)
- Water is Life, in 2003 (Blue Planet Project, 2003)
- Declaration of the Peoples World Water Movement, in 2004 (First Peoples' World Water Forum, 2004)
- Ecumenical Declaration on water as a human right and a public good, in 2005 (World Council of Churches, 2005)
- Social movements' declaration on water at the WSF Caracas 2006, in 2006 (Informal Water Caucus, 2006)



- The Joint Declaration of the Movements in Defense of Water, in 2006 (International Forum on the Defence of Water, 2006)

The synthesis results of this qualitative analysis are presented in this section, which pulls together the main findings and debates the key elements of importance, such as the movement's qualitative shifts over time of self-perception as an effective agent in the organisational field of urban WATSAN and its evolving reference to the public sector.

### **The trajectory of movement discourse**

The Cochabamba Declaration (International Conference of Cochabamba, 2000) was a first local extrapolation of a local defensive struggle into a transnationalised expression of the evolving movements' discourse. It was early days for the concretisation of its discursive frame and represents the initial restricted vision of anti-privatisation in the water movement sector. The early discursive frame was dominated by anti-corporate and human rights discourses and in vague terms invoked state action and public responsibility for water and sanitation. For example, the movements' World Water Day actions in 2002 stood under the motto of "Stop Privatisation of Water. Privatised water services must return to the public domain" (Informal Water Caucus, 2002, [s.l.]).

The Mexico declaration in the year 2006 (International Forum on the Defense of Water, 2006), as the latest major movement declaration and thus an expression of the scope of the movement's discursive trajectory, offers an articulate statement on the movement's impact and effective role. It also shows that the discursive trajectory is characterised by an ever more concrete treatment of the restoration, promotion, revitalisation and democratisation of the public and community sectors.

Therefore, it can be argued that the movement discourse frame has converged and solidified from an initially restricted vision of anti-privatisation to a more holistic and concrete perception, treatment and vision of alternatives of public and community water services. The movement sector turns lack of access into a re-politicised object for emancipatory politics where the public sector, the role of the state and its democratic governance and participatory management are filled with new meaning and content.

## Phases of discourse development

Overall, the movement discourse exposed in the declarations from Cochabamba to Mexico was based on network processes, transnational as much as trans-local, which aim at more concreteness and effectiveness. This occurred in phases of discourse development, which are reflected in the different movement projects effective at given times. In addition, I distinguish phases by their inspirational myths and by their content and strategic direction. These phases did not occur in straight forward linear timelines but diffused in multi-scalar and multi-temporal processes around nodal points, trans-local exchanges and heights and lows of movement activity.

The starting point for the first phase was the anti-corporate alter-globalisation movement context with a perspective of defensive struggles against corporate take-over and global injustice. This phase was dominated by simplified invocations of the state, public responsibility and was mainly conceptualised by a commons approach and a human rights approach. The inspirational myth that convoked the initial transnationalisation can be found in the global anti-globalisation protests combined with the series of local defensive struggles such as Cochabamba and Ghana. In this first phase, locally bound struggles infused the global debate. The Cochabamba example shows how movement attention on defensive success stories was predominant at the time, while the resulting challenge that ensues successful defensive struggle, namely the effective transformation of recuperated public systems, was not on the agenda. At the time, local experiences and transnational debates and initial coalition building in global declarations occurred on the basis of these defensive struggles and a human rights approach.

By 2003, the initially very raw invocations of the state had gained some detail but remained quite vague. Nevertheless, this can already be counted as a second phase, where the inclusion of more complex public-state discussions and references to empirical experiences of movement constructions of alternatives enter the foreground of debate. The debates shift from the view on the No, to the debate on the many Yes's, without however being able to grapple fully the many Yes's into a coherent perspective of positive movement demands. Nevertheless, movement expressions such as the "Water is Life" statement (Blue Planet Project, 2003) are significantly more complex than earlier movement ones. One exception, as mentioned above, is the Accra Declaration, which I understand as a forebearer of local diffusion to the transnational sphere.



A third phase sets in when the self-created challenge for public water alternatives is recognised and integrated into the movements' debates on their own roles and potentials. The Mexico Declaration is the fullest expression of this third phase, even though the Caracas Declaration can already be included in this third phase. But it was only the Mexico Declaration that unmistakably stated the movements' self-realisation. Movement roles, impacts and capacities and actual successful power to implement are recognised in the movement sector's discourse as the relevant movements' myths become appropriation struggles, and the critical debate turns on the unsuccessful change-over processes of successful defensive struggles to successful appropriation struggles.

This third phase yet is characterised by a new void. The filling of this void is, at this historic conjuncture, the core challenge and crucial task for the transnational movement sector. Nevertheless, this third and current phase is also characterised by regional and global processes of a more realistic repertoire. These include the diffusion and actual piloting of alternative management reforms, for example in the form of PUPs in South America, resource allocation to these projects and enhanced movement activity on regional and global debates and collective learning. Overall, the applicability and readiness of articulation of the movement discourse to the organisational field is sought while the recognition of movement actors and their presence in the field result in a change of style, strategies and strategic aims of the movement.

### **The discursive treatment of public water over time**

In the first stage of discursive development, the Cochabamba declaration in 2001 (International Conference of Cochabamba, 2000) was mainly about the anti-corporate defensive struggle and highlighted the roles of community and citizens in this struggle and argued in a generalised way for participation and social control. The World Social Forum declaration by the water movements of the year 2002 (Informal Water Caucus, 2002) repeated this generalisation of what I would call a public domain approach. It argued for public responsibility and public resources and furthermore did not offer any more concrete or complex references to the public sector and sought "(g)ood solutions for equitable, sustainable, and democratic control of water in the public interest" (Informal Water Caucus, 2002, [s.l.]).

At the turn of the second discursive phase around 2003 and 2004, the discourse on public water turned to the revitalisation of public management by participation and public spending and sound principles (Blue Planet Project, 2003). Anti-corporate perspectives were added by debates on state and public sector with less invocation and more critical, and slowly more concrete, debate and interaction with public sector realities. At the time, the core movement frame that I will present further below crystallised the theme of public sector services and argued for community and workers' participation and the democratisation of decision-making at different levels of public authority (Blue Planet Project, 2003).

The locally bound declaration of Accra in 2001 (National Forum on Water Privatization, 2001) had anticipated and pre-empted this development at the transnational level with its locally embedded reflexive deliberation on the public sector in Ghana. While bad water services were clearly explained with the failure in public sector management, politics and development of water services, the declaration however did not yet cover the important discourse elements of movement self-knowledge, agency and process of sector transformation. Then in 2004, the second discursive phase was in full swing, as the Delhi declaration called for "democratic control" and "peoples'-based sustainable and appropriate alternatives" (Peoples' World Water Forum, 2004, [s.l.]). Delhi can also be seen as the haphazard beginning of movement debates, open-ended and indecisive up to date, on public finance. Still in the year 2005, one can find an example of how the human rights and anti-corporate discourses were still predominant, while the public alternative agenda was indeed coming to the forefront.

### **Correlations in national and regional movement expressions**

Other movement references to the public sector fall into similar lines. For example the Coalition Against Water Privatisation (CWAP-Malaysia) of Malaysia, to take an example from Asia, argued for key principles including that the provision of safe and affordable water in sufficient quantity is the responsibility of the government and that water is a public good and cannot be commercialised. The NGO "Monitoring Sustainability of Globalisation", a member of CWAP Malaysia furthermore argues: "The public sector is able to provide water at the optimal cost with adequate funding and effective regulation and enforcement" (Monitoring Sustainability of Globalisation, 2007).

Similar names for movement coalitions and lines of arguments on the public sector emerged also on the African continent. In South Africa for example, a declaration in the year 2003



created the Coalition Against Water Privatisation of South Africa (CWAP-South Africa) and called against criminalisation, pre-paid meters, privatisation (CWAP-South Africa, 2003). CWAP-South Africa also declared in favour of the human right to water, public ownership and management and pointed out that government ought also to make fiscal commitment to roll-out accessible infrastructure.

More recently, the African Water Network (AWN) mission statement says that its aims to achieve unfettered access to water for all on the basis of civil society mobilisation against the failure of water privatisation and commercialisation in Africa with the following five non-negotiable principles (AWN, 2007):

- Against privatisation and commercialisation of water
- Against installation of pre-paid meters
- Promote alternatives
- Water is a human right
- Promote public investment in water

The mission statement reads that the AWN is “committed to promoting alternatives to privatisation and commercialisation and to promote public investment in water” (AWN, 2007, [s.l.]). Other movement statements have additionally argued that privatisation erodes democracy, especially in communal self-administration of public authorities, and increases public debt in the long term. Therefore, the Leipzig Declaration of Initiatives argued for the support of re-communalisation of public services and the strengthening of the public property. It argued that public institutions and enterprises have a special purpose to fulfil and have to remain oriented to the public good and transparency, and have to work under democratic control in collaboration with the citizenry (Initiativen gegen Privatisierung, 2008).

It is also argued in the context of a recent movement-related forum, that water as a public good and the effective struggles to stop or undo privatisation are leading to new tendencies for de-privatisation, reconstruction of public companies and thereby lead to the human right to water and implement water as a public good. According to this argument, new tendencies are marked by ‘estatización’, a Spanish term similar in meaning to ‘nationalisation’ in the English language, and public-public partnerships (Enlazando Alternativas, 2008). The same statement also proposes PUPs and democratic management, public investment and the modernisation of

companies as means to increase coverage and quality. This, it is argued, occurs via citizens' and workers' proposals for alternatives in the public domain.

### **The current challenges in discourse development on public-communitarian water**

The third and so far last discursive phase of the movements' discursive development on the public sector and public water can be identified with the water declaration at the 2006 Caracas WSF (Informal Water Caucus 2006). Not only did it refer to struggles against commoditisation all over the world but most importantly it offered a succinct expression of the movement frame. It argued for the "recovery and promotion of public, social, community-based, participatory and holistic management of water" (Informal Water Caucus, 2002, [s.l.]). This was considered in terms of public, social, community-based, participatory and non-commercialised management and ecosystem approaches and effective participation in all aspects of planning, management and control (Informal Water Caucus, 2002).

This demonstrates how the movement has produced step-by-step a differentiated public water discourse on the basis of the diffusion of experiences of local struggles to the transnational sphere. From that the movement derived principles, concepts and expert knowledge for the promotion of public, community, and social management forms of water and sanitation. Also, in Caracas, public finance remained an indeterminate issue without many concrete proposals and debate.

The Mexico Declaration, which I understand as the cornerstone of the third and current discursive phase, recognised and treated the theme of public alternatives explicitly, without losing sight of the main focus on rights and anti-corporate approaches. The declaration spelled out "(m)anagement and control of water must be public, social, cooperative, participatory, equitable, and not for profit" (International Forum on the Defense of Water, 2006, [s.l.]). And it argued for public obligation for the "restoration and promotion" of "public, social, cooperative, participatory, equitable management and control of water" (International Forum on the Defense of Water, 2006, [s.l.]). This was a strong and decisive element in the declaration and in the overall movement debates at the time. It shows the increased comprehensiveness while also demonstrating that movement discourse still did not explicitly turn the debate on the failure of the public sector nor considered, in the necessary depth, the neoliberal pressures facing public water delivery systems, for example in form of commercialisation. Advancing on



another point however, the movements did increasingly consider public-public partnerships as useful and important tools.

***The current frame: democratisation towards emancipatory public-community water for all***

The overall discursive development of the movement sector has culminated in a common frame of convergence that I call 'democratisation towards emancipatory public-community water for all'. The articulation and growth of the transnational water movement is integrally bound to this conceptual and political frame for emancipatory public and community water and sanitation services.

The following diagram (Diagram 3 ) systemizes graphically how the common frame of the water movement builds the core elements as a conceptual and political frame for the democratisation of public-community water systems. These discourse elements are a summary of the analysis in this chapter and have been extracted and synthesised from the series of movement expressions in form of global statements. They were confirmed and fine-tuned by participant observation of the transnational movement networks.

It is important to note that the frame sets out public and community water as two distinct categories. I tend to not mention the differentiation between public and community as community can also be seen as a form of publicness but it is differentiated here because of the important differences and debates in the movement sector on these two types of state-public and non-state public water systems.

The democratisation towards emancipatory public-community water for all is, in my understanding, the newly emerged principal movement frame. The maturing water movement sector has developed core believes. As depicted in Diagram 3, the cornerstones of this movement frame for democratisation are a human rights approach, a public goods and commons approach and a cultural approach to water. The founding elements of an anti-corporatisation, anti-privatisation and anti-commercialisation perspective remain vital in this frame, while the more recent perspectives on the democratisation and (re-)vitalisation of public and community alternatives and public finance has added an heuristic perspective.





**Diagram 3 Movement frame for the democratisation of public water**

The ecosystems approach and the critique of modernist development are important factors that link the political-economic perspectives on ownership and control of water to political-ecological arguments about the built environment and nature. The framework demands a direct if not radical democratic approach to water through the demand of effective participation.

On the basis of this common frame, the movement declarations call for unification and strengthening of the transnationalising local water movements in networks, action plans, and active solidarity that associate local struggles and global platforms. They understand this transnational articulation in trans-local networks of localised struggles as building bloc for generating a public-democratic social embedding of WSS policy debates. These movement expressions are thereby understood as part of the effective participation they demand in their emerging new discourse for the democratisation of water.



## **Positive outcomes and challenges**

From a strategic perspective, the heuristic approach to alternatives has generated, in recent years, more points of constructive contact with the organisational field, in other words with sector bodies and professionals. One important example is the discourse on public-public partnerships. The PUP approach has increased in the movement networks and is also generating more political practice. This generates scope for cooperation with global institutions such as UNHABITAT and the Global Water Operators Partnership Alliance (GWOPA) and serves to show that the increasing concreteness, competence and sector relevance of the movements' discourse has increased their actor acceptance, potential roles and scope for negotiation in the organisational field.

Notwithstanding the significant discursive development over time, crucial elements of the discursive development remain unresolved at the time of the Mexico declaration. These open elements need to be considered as the core challenge and crucial task for the transnational movement sector after Mexico. According to my analysis, the most imperative and essential discursive elements that the movements have to further elaborate are the following:

- Enabling a self-critical perspective on the agency, impacts, capabilities and capacities of a movement sector as it moves from defensive perspectives to social appropriation.
- Overcoming uncritical invocations of the public, the state and community;
- Generating more concrete and critical expert knowledge, repertoires and political strategies for enabling and implementing alternatives of democratisation and revitalisation of public and community water.
- Building expert knowledge and diffusing repertoires on alternative models of water systems, therein especially on effective participation and social control and on the political-managerial process of transformation of public water systems, which so far occur merely as black boxes in movement discourses.

Apart from these core tasks, it will also be important for the movement sector to consider critically the capitalist relations of water and the (neoliberal and post-colonial) accumulation regimes under which many of the development debates of water and sanitation occur. All these steps, including the more indirect and tentative dealing with the large societal questions on capitalism and its discontents, are necessary because the movement stances and

discourses, while indeed transforming and elaborating more concreteness and specificity over time, remain riddled with imprecision and limitations in their propositional elements.

### **Discussing the findings: Strategic areas**

These elements combine into important strategic areas for the movement organisation and political practice, which I have also drawn out in the above analysis of the movement declarations. These are:

- Embedding of movement discourse in the endeavour for new social relations of political ecology of water and a critique of the capitalist relations of water
- Constructing the agency of social movements in local, national struggles and at international and transnational level
- Articulation of struggles between different types of actors in and beyond the movement sector.
- Build power to implement and the capability and capacity to become and sustain the agent's role
- Development of a recognised actor's or stakeholder role in the organisational field
- Self-knowledge and expert knowledge of the organisational field
- Development and diffusion of repertoires
- Norm creation at international level (UN convention) and at national (constitutional and legislative) level
- Development and diffusion of alternative concepts, models and practices of emancipatory management and governance systems.

From a more theoretical point of view, these strategic areas of organisation and political practice of the movement sector point to new forms of articulation of social movements and to the notion of shifting state-society relations. The latter relates to the positive reference to state- and public sector responsibility. The former relates to the movements' outspoken aim and claim of being effective, relevant and creative, in other words propositional, actors in the organisational field of urban water and sanitation.

### **Discussing the finding: the qualitative shift's new challenges**

My analysis supports the argument that the political process by which sector institutions, organisations and practices are to be reformed however are black boxes in the overall new



frame. The political process and the functions of social movements are not discussed in detail; their power to act merely stated but not explained. In this frame, public water alternatives and democratisation function as empty signifiers and the means by which this signifier can be filled, in other words the movement action, remain undefined and vague.

Having said the above, the fact that the initially restricted anti-privatisation vision of the movement shifted qualitatively to what I would call a pro-public approach and a challenge for public water, is the most significant finding of the analysis of the movement declarations. For this to occur, the movement discourse had to move away from simplified invocation of the state and had to realise its own agency, role and impact and refer to the public, state and community in more differentiated and realistic terms. In this way, propositional elements in the movement discourse have emerged on the basis of anti-corporate, rights and commons approaches. What is left is the black box of radical transformation, which has moved into focus but has not been concretised in the movement declarations. In these different ways, the movement has closed the gap between the organisational field of urban WATSAN and the movement sector and thereby has been able to address the strategic areas I have highlighted above.

All this has to be considered as a result of the realisation that mere defensive struggles are not what water movements gathering in the World Social Forums are about. In its place, they are about the re-appropriation of public water. This has meant that the initially central movement myth of the Cochabamba water war, a story of defending water against corporate take-over, has shifted to a perspective on movement successes that have implemented the human right in constitutions, as in Uruguay, or that have reformed urban water management effectively and significantly.

The reference of the movement discourse to public sector water services has evolved over time. I have already proposed that the discourse has moved from vague and imprecise invocation to concrete and more realistic public sector references. These have not only concretised but also diversified and expanded the issue boundary of the anti-corporate approach, the rights approach, the human security and social justice approaches, the public trust and commons doctrine. The boundary has moved towards a treatment of urban WATSAN as organisations and institutions of public service systems, closely linked to the ecology of the natural water cycle and broader socio-economic processes of development, accumulation and urbanisation.

Also, the closer recognition of the realities and exigencies of public sector water and sanitation services meant that the movement discourse had to articulate with public authorities, governments and state institutions. In turn, this meant that movement organisation and network building also had to be adequate for this new discursive realisation. This was because the movement sector more and more understood that its roles, capacity and capabilities lie in the politicised participation (to use the terminology I developed in section 3.2) in the different levels and stages of the organisational field of urban WATSAN.

### **Analysing the current state of the discourse**

To summarise, the movement discourse has matured and talks about the restoration and promotion of public sector water delivery and seeks the revitalisation and democratisation of different types of non-commercialised public water management. Public-community water, which I have distinguished from state-public systems, has also gained some concrete strategic demands and interventions by movement actors, such as public-public partnerships in the trajectory from the first to the third discursive phase. Public finance however remains a vague and barely concrete discourse. That is one reason why the movement in the debate on financing the water sector has not entered as a relevant actor in specific debates within the organisational field of WATSAN. The simplistic invocation of the state and public responsibility and the public sector, most prominent in the first and second discursive phases, has not however been fully overcome or recognised by the movement actors. This I argue is the main weak point in the movement frame at the very heart of its critical potential. The movement discourse still does not fully discuss the role and agency of social movements, nor does it critically consider the role of the state, political parties or communities and the relations between these.

To exemplify the new phase of discursive development in relation to the movements' new self-perception, I want to highlight how this qualitative shift has led to new movement discourse and demands on agency and movement content. The results can be clearly seen, starting with the fact that the Mexico Declaration called for a collective global action in October 2006 with a common slogan: "The right to water is possible: public participatory management" (International Forum on the Defense of Water, 2006, [s.l.]). This is very distinct from the global water day activities in the early and first phase of the movement discourse that still mainly voiced anti-privatisation themes. In 2006, the movement positioned itself with a creative, propositional and positive demand for public participatory management. This shows how the



discursive elements of water as a common good and the democratisation and (re-)vitalisation of public and community alternatives have become the most relevant signifiers for the movement in the trajectory of the discourse phases.

Having argued this point, it is important to consider that there are movement actors in the movement sector that work on these issues in a more concrete way. I have pointed to such movement actions in relation to workshops, for example during the WSF 2006 in Caracas. Especially the Reclaiming Public Water (RWP) network organised workshops specifically on public water alternatives during all of the WSF's since 2003. I have argued that actors are integrating this approach more and more into the movement sector's discursive frame. A key driver within the movement sector of debates on alternatives and pro-public approaches has indeed been the RPW network, whose publication *Reclaiming Public Water* (Balanya et al., 2005) was a cornerstone of this emergent discourse. A very recent publication in the same line is edited by Delclos (2009).

Despite these advances, I put forward the argument that the discourse elements of water as a common good, and public sector alternatives, if they are to concretise and build political practices, will require of the movement discourse development in this third phase a much clearer elucidation of the black box of the radical transformation of progressive public sector reform. The movement actors do not properly understand nor share amongst them the knowledge about the process of sector transformation. According to the conceptual framework of radical transformation of the organizational field through social movement politics, this black box includes the issues of movements' agency, impact, capacity and capabilities. It is pertinent for the movement discourse to explore perhaps a next phase of discourse framing, a phase where public water appropriation (struggles) turns into the core and well-elaborated discursive element for which the movements can speak as, in Vinthagen's (2002) words "competent spokes".

Structural reasons of state and social incapacity to deliver the human right to water in the existing capitalist-developmental societies of today have to be taken into account by the water movements. As also should public sector failure, corruption and mismanagement as separate issues in the public sphere. In order to do so the movement discourse needs to further break into the black box of progressive public sector reform, by which I mean to understand better its own agency and potentials in the political process of movementisation of sector reform.

In addition, I advocate that a more critical movement discourse on social appropriation will require more deliberation on the capitalist socialisation of water in public and community institutions and the systemic role of public service delivery in capitalist (re-)production and the role that the state and public services play in securing capitalist economies and political stability, which in turn make it more unlikely for water movements to overcome current power relations of water and transform and appropriate public water. I understand this lack of consideration of the state and public systems as part and parcel of capitalist relations as a contradictory and certainly limiting factor for the propositional discourse by the movement sector.

### **Human right versus public goods approaches**

Turning to a different point I have raised above, the movement discourse has two distinct main basic reference points. One is the human right to water and the other is a critique of commodification of a public good or a commons. The typical discourse of movement actors combines both, as I have shown above, in an argument for the human right water as a public good. Usually, the United Nation's 'General Comment' on the Right to Water is drawn to argue that water is and has to be accepted as a human right. To give an example, one 'water as a human right' online article (Sierra Club, 2004) demonstrates that the movement employs the UN general comment of November 2002 to sustain citizen and NGO declarations on the human right to water. The website also argues that:

Movement declarations refer to principles and proposals for managing and sharing water as a human right, a public trust and a commons and stand diametrically opposed to managing water as a 'commodity' to be sold for private profit" (Sierra Club, 2004, [s.l.]).

Thus, the website turns to the UN to sustain the argument that the human right to water means a rejection of water commodification. This website example shows how movement discourse employs the human rights approach and includes and leads to public sector approaches.

This movement discourse however lacks clarity as it does not sufficiently explain how a rights approach necessarily ensures that water has to be delivered and controlled by public and community systems without the participation of the private sector, especially in a context of widespread failure to deliver such a right by many public service systems. So the double strategy of the movement has a weak point here.



I also argue, in relation to the Ecumenical water declaration that this link between the human right to water and water as a public good does not necessarily live up to scrutiny. I would agree with other observers of the water movement who argue that the movements' discourse is rather a double strategy that demands the universal recognition of the human right to water at the same time as raising a voice against corporate control and profit-making from water (Choike, 2008). This expression of parallel demands for rights and against corporate control or for the public character of water is more cogent than the logical interrelation of the public goods character to the human right to water.

One movement expression in this tone of argument comes from a Bolivian text, which argues in favour of the concept of commons and establishes a counter-position to usual discourses on rights. The authors pose, the in their view, central questions.

How do we conceive of ourselves in this struggle and, above all, how do we protect that which they wish to steal from us? And when we say 'they', we refer not only to the corporations, but also the state and the elite classes (Olivera and Gomez, 2006, [s.l.]).

They explicitly argue against the movement discourse and strategy of the human right to water and its consecration in a UN convention. They argue that the western concept of citizenship and the related entitlements and rights, and ensuing obligations such as taxes, do not suit the peoples in countries like Bolivia. The text moves against what the authors call, quoting Vandana Shiva, the "culture of exploitability" (Shiva, 2005 quoted by Olivera and Gomez, 2006, [s.l.]) that they understand as a consequence of a western citizenship and rights conception.

Against these western concepts, the authors refer to Aymaran political and social cultures and realities in Bolivia and argue that communal politics breaks, logically and historically, with capitalist production and the related individualism of what they call the Protestant ethic, and thus with the commercialisation of social relations. They argue that this communal form of politics and the collective strength that stems from these politics can reclaim the voice and dignity stolen from the peoples of Bolivia by capitalism and neoliberalism and thereby build alternatives through the means of conflict. The authors combine this with the cultural value and significance of water in the Aymara society to argue that water cannot be allocated as a right by capitalist states but can only be reclaimed by community and society (Olivera and Gomez, 2006).

Apart from these critiques from non-western social movement contexts and ongoing elaborations of movement discourses, there is also a perhaps more Northern argument that

puts the human right to water discourse, as it is coupled intrinsically with water as a public good, into perspective. Buckel (2008) argues that the emancipatory reference by social movements to rights, public institutions/authorities and state-public management moves in a paradox of affirming structures that are constitutive for the relations of dominance that they at the same time fight against. It presents a contradiction for social movements and other emancipatory actors that is not only a dilemma, as Sonja Buckel points out for the issue of social rights (Buckel, 2008), but that inherits the potential to employ rights, institutions and public management against themselves and against capital and the state.

“Without right no state, without state no capital, without capitalism no exploitation, against which in turn social rights are brought forward” (Buckel, 2008, 23). A necessary prerequisite for creatively employing these is a deepened understanding of the complex structures of rights, state institutions and public management in order to draw in an emancipatory way on such integral and fundamental structural principles of capitalist societies. The struggles for inclusion of rights and inclusion of public institutions and public services are on the one hand effective and have an impact and on the other hand are paradoxical in as far as these rights, institutions and processes are contradictory basic structures of capitalist states.

Combining Buckel’s argument on the contradictory nature of rights approaches with the critique of the Bolivian authors treated above, it seems a sound argument that the:

making ‘human access to water’ as a human right may be an advance, that it keeps us inside the trap built by capital and its organizational expressions (the government and business interests) (Olivera and Gomez, 2006, [s.l.]).

The authors argue that the movement has to escape the perceived trap of rights approaches and I argue that the movement discourse in the third and current phase is doing exactly that. It replaces the predominant element of the rights approach with a pro-public approach of democratisation of public water through social appropriation. This has the advantage that the movement can turn its attention to the productive base of the built environment of WATSAN. It is important to recognise this debate between and about the discursive and strategic elements of rights, public goods and the commons in order to understand the importance for the movement sector to develop a concrete and relevant understanding of how it envisions the process of radical transformation for the democratisation of public-community water it seeks.



## **Organisation and agency of movement actors**

The discourse of the movement sector also offers some core pronouncements and findings on the organisational development of the movement actors, networks and practices. With the Cochabamba declaration, the role of citizens and communities in social and political struggles was brought into perspective. In addition, the rejection of the World Water Council and the World Water Forum and other global governance institutions such as international trade courts meant that network activity was, at least at the transnational level, often focused on responding to these global governance expressions while concrete political demands are often linked to current political situations.

Movement discourse development, and thus movement building, has occurred via counter-forums, email lists, local to local exchanges and the like. Local struggles and contexts were much more concrete and relevant to the organisational field of urban WATSAN than their transnational expressions in network meetings, conferences and declarations. The expert knowledge and localised sector-specific experiences of local struggles and local interaction of movements in water systems (reforms) only slowly filtered upwards to the transnational level.

In 2004, the Delhi declaration called into existence the global water movement. However, this global call did not mobilise or organise the movement actors much, because of the rather detrimental movement network processes and leadership problems that negatively influenced movement discourse and organisational development for quite some time and still have not been fully resolved up to today. In 2006, a more horizontal approach was exposed in the WSF Caracas declaration, which expressed a common platform where regional issues, global understanding and local struggles articulate. This did not remove differences but built on commonalities in the movement and accepted the broad breadth and scope of the movement sector. The transnationalisation of the movement sector has been hindered by the localisation of movement struggles and organisations and the relative lack of access to information technology by many local actors. A platform of common action to mould struggles of each locality within the framework of a global strategy was also the discourse theme expressed in the Mexico Declaration.

Importantly, at this time the self-perception and self-reference of the movement sector changed. At the third phase of movement discourse development, a novel and timely change occurred. A change in the way that the movement refers to its own potentials and recognises

its own role and impact, as new scenarios and scope for creative action were highlighted in the Mexico declaration. I have shown this above and want to highlight in this regard the importance of this change in self-perception. It was, next to the improvement in discourse on the public sector, the key discursive shift present in the movement sector at the time of the Mexico Declaration and in the third discursive phase in general. It is the growing and new self-perception and self-awareness of the movement. I have argued that the key new political outlook, derived from this recognition of agency and impact, was a driver for policy perspectives and collective actions.

The water movements could with this discursive sea change comprehend themselves as self-empowered agents that can directly affect water systems; and so indeed at a global scale and also in localities all around the world. At the same time, the movement sector sought to further distinguish itself from cooperative civil society and developed its own movement-induced spaces and tools of intervention on the organisational field, such as the water tribunals that I have mentioned.

Thereby, movement organisation and strategy shifted society-state relations and embedded new roles and spheres of influence for the movement actors. Whether in networks, counter-forums or tribunals, the movement sector over time has developed new organisational forms and these I argue were possible because of the development of the movement's discourse, induced by the movement sector's realisation of its own agency and impact. The movement sector seeks to build networks, self-knowledge, repertoires and organisational forms with direct sector impact, such as observatories and public-public partnerships. All these elements mean that the movement sector works towards transforming the boundaries of state and society and of the WATSAN field and moves in this third discursive phase to a more concrete and complex discourse on what I call social appropriation of public water.

## **5.4. The movement project: local and transnational strategies**

### **The movement project**

Having established a distinct urban water movement sector and its discursive development in recent years, I now argue and demonstrate how these form an emancipatory project for public water. The formation of identity and discourse of social movements that was analysed above allows movements to develop political strategies and demands. Since such a movement's political project intertwines political demands with political practices, it is therefore



conditioned by the discourse of the movement sector, which has shifted to what I call social appropriation of public water. This means that the political project of the movement sector articulates and seeks to implement positive, constructive demands of the above mentioned discourse.

However, the shift from a defence to an appropriation discourse has not merely replaced resistance strategies of movements; instead it has complemented them while also changing the political project's character towards global governance of water. The research found the movement project to include resistance to privatisation and the formulation, advocacy and implementation of alternative reform projects of public water systems without recourse to privatisation and commercialisation. A key factor in the discourse was identified as the agency of the movement organisations in this protection and transformation of public water.

### **Movement strategies**

Local water struggles and their global articulations are spread out between geographies and repertoires. These occur at different scales such as local protest movements (i.e. Bolivia, South Africa), local referenda (i.e. Germany, USA), national legislation and constitutional changes (i.e. Belgium, Colombia, Malaysia, South Africa, Uruguay, Venezuela) and international arenas such as the World Water Forum, the United Nations or global campaigns against transnational corporations. Movements link the local to the global and vice versa in a movement of transnationalism by strategically collaborating in numerous regional and transnational networks of shared communication, collaboration and collective mobilisation. The overall strategic field for urban water movements is circumscribed by an intensifying politicisation of urban WATSAN both on the level of local struggles and global governance.

Overall, the movement sector moves in a series of strategic approaches by which the movements aim to address this heightened politicisation:

- The human right to water as a public good (strategy of norm creation),
- Anti-privatisation struggles (defensive resistance),
- Exploration of alternatives to improve the failing water and sanitation systems around the world (constructive, creative intervention)
- De-legitimisation and re-construction of global governance spaces and seeking movement-centred but field specific/relevant platforms and policy tools (de-legitimisation and constructive strategy)

Norm creation, defensive resistance and constructive intervention are an evolving set of strategies of the complex and diverse movement sector. The first strategy of the human right to water as a public good aims at norm creation at different scales from national legislation and constitutional changes to the United Nations (UN) and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Secondly, local or national anti-privatisation campaigns are defensive strategies but sometimes touch upon issues of public sector alternatives.

The third strategic element of the movement sector is the exploration of public alternatives, which aims to improve failing public and community institutions. This is preventative, creative and constructive in character and especially develops in cases where de-privatisation occurs but also where privatisations were prevented. It is a constructive and creative strategy but depends on the success of the two previous ones. This strategy shows how water movements demonstrate what Squires claimed for urban movement in general, which is “the capacity to conceive a different image of the city and the ability to implement programs in hopes of realizing that image” (Squires, 1996, p.286). It is clear that beyond anti-privatisation and anti-corporate elements, movements affect problem perceptions and increasingly propose problem solutions and influence international and national norms and legislation. In some instances, they participate in the establishment of public solutions in a direct way, generating a dimension of implementing ‘alternatives’. So there is a clear development from opposition to privatisation towards challenges for effective public and communal water systems.

The fourth strategy is about countering global governance structures and in turn about creating platforms and political spaces where movement actors can diffuse repertoires that are sector relevant, or in other words, relevant and with direct application and influence in the organisational field.

### **Explaining the shift in movement strategies**

The framework of activities of the transnational movement and also of local struggles is arguably moving into a more constructive and sector-relevant phase, inspired by successful struggles around the world, existing forms of public water in governance and management structures and the ongoing transnational processes of collective learning among movement organisations. In the early phases of the water movement networking at the turn of the century, organic intellectuals put forward a discourse mainly limited to anti-privatisation. It avoided detailed articulation of alternatives and instead favoured normative statements on the



right to water and the democratisation of the governance of water (for example Petrella, 2001). Nowadays these normative and little concrete statements are filled in with concretising political demands for the construction of viable public and community water systems. Hence, more recent publications by movement organisations explicitly turn to “Peoples’ resistance and alternatives’ (Jubilee South Asia Pacific and Freedom from Debt Coalition, 2004).

This title exemplifies the qualitative shift in the debates during the WSF’s in 2004 and 2005. One commentator during the 2005 event in Porto Alegre put it this way: “We are winning the privatisation debate and what now?” (own documentation by the author). Whereas the opposition to neoliberal orthodoxy used to primarily focus on anti-privatisation discourses (Hall, Lobina, and de La Motte, 2005), opposition groups are today found to further extend anti-privatisation to a call for a renewed vision of public service in water provision, thereby emphasising the above mentioned third element of their strategies. This includes calls for public ownership and control, community participation and international solidarity, such as international campaigns and public-public partnerships (PUPs). Indeed, PUPs are a central figure at the current conjuncture of the movement networks. They are a key policy demand and repertoire of the movement sector (see Box 6 and for example Balanya, 2005 and Delclos, 2009).

### **PUPs: a new repertoire of the movement sector and practice in the organisational field**

PUPs are not-for-profit arrangements between public water operators, public authorities or civil society and community organisations that aim at building capacity in WATSAN services through training, technical assistance, and support to institutional reform. Related to the concept of twinning, they are considered as non-commercial, mutual and transparent exchanges whose incentives are based on public sector ethos and solidarity. They can be national or international in scope and involve north-north, north-south or south-south collaborations (see for example Hall et al., 2005; Lobina and Hall, 2006).

The rationale of PUPs is that the public sector requires support to develop the human resources, institutional strength, technical expertise, technology, or the financial or managerial capacity to effectively provide WATSAN services. And that this support can be released by the latent resources, capacities and potentials that exist in the well-functioning public operators around the world (Hall et al., 2009).

A recent report (Hall et al., 2009) lists over 130 PUPs in around 70 countries, more than existing PPPs, making PUPs an important phenomenon. The WOPs Initiative of UNHABITAT also demonstrates the equally growing importance of this policy instrument at the level of global governance, despite the fact that global institutions have neglected such pro-public instruments.

For the movement networks, PUPs are a progressive, political tool and technical mechanism by which transformations and democratisation processes of water systems can be supported. The goal is to strengthen the emerging alternatives with already existing professional and social resources in the public-community water sector. The movements employ the PUP discourse to counter the dominance of PSP. They diffuse the repertoire of PUPs amongst their networks, as the recent example of a PUP platform of water movements in the Americas demonstrates. This means that by means of PUPs, the movement generate a policy tool that they themselves propose, develop and employ for their goals.

PUPs have increasingly gained importance in the latest phase of the development of movement discourses. They stand for the effective interventionist role of the movement sector in global governance, the growing concreteness and specificity of movement activities and the diffusion and application of repertoires in local-national pro-public struggles.

#### **Box 6 Public-public partnerships**



## 5.5. Summary and discussion of interim findings

### Single-issue networks

Analysing the findings made in the conceptually-focused empirical analysis of this Chapter, I argue that the transnational water movements, which I now have established in terms of a movement sector corresponding to the alter-globalisation movement in the organisational field of urban WATSAN, interweave identity politics within a single-issue network in the sense of hybrid movement networks (Aronowitz et al., 2003). The issue networks on water services formulate a joint contest against water neoliberalism in favour of the human right to water and sustainable public systems of service delivery. This characterisation as a single issue network is meaningful, as political transnationalism by this issue network is characterised by the production of multiple scales of a principle of water as a human right, public good and the commons.

Around these collective stances and principles, diverse actors converge and a pro-public development policy is generated, articulated and sought to be implemented. These processes occur in multi-levelled processes, which see state actions, institutional frameworks and norms challenged, affected and, in case of movement impact, changed. This also means that diverse actors converge in these scales on the basis of the principle. It also inherits the reverse possibility that state actions and legitimacy, institutional frameworks, languages and opportunities contribute to the making of a transnational development network on public water, despite the neoliberal-driven cutbacks. Such a process has been identified for another issue area, that of indigenous politics in the Andean region (Radcliffe, et al., 2002) and is also detectable for the water movements as they structure networks around accessible issues such as the human right to water in the UN debates on the subject.

Employing this insight by Radcliffe (2001), what can be expected and indeed was found for the water field is an entangled relationship within the issue network where differentiations and meanings are expressed in various terms, such as institutional, ethnic, cultural, and professional or gender. So although public water is the network's principle of convergence, other axes of social differentiation around which politics and policy are produced can create divisions within the issue network. One important issue in this regard is the way in which movement members cooperate with states and institutions. Whatever their type of engagement with public bodies and state authorities, it is important to note in relation to the issue-orientedness of the water movements that it makes them "competent spokes"

(Vinhagen, 2003, p.15), as they develop self-supporting work and even research. Speaking with Vinhagen, referring to Eyerman and Jamison (1996), they become “knowledgeable alternative experts” (Vinhagen, 2003, p.15), who integrate vision for social change with the construction of alternative social structures in the organisational field of urban WATSAN.

### **Alter meaning “from below” globalisation of water struggles**

In order to do so, water movements penetrate the micro world while also transnationalising their efforts. The anti-globalisation movement in general does this on the basis of politicising work and redistribution as well as everyday life. The transnational water movement does so by repoliticising the public sector and rights debates in particular at local and national levels. At all levels of political intervention and articulation of the movement sector, demands and practices are developed for new forms of collective representation, recognition and collective power to organise and control public goods production and redistribution.

One dynamic is that the movement repertoires and frames that penetrate their micro worlds are broadened to global questions, thus in reverse inverting global politics to include the micro-world as well. At the same time, the global impromptu temporal confrontations of the alter-globalisation movement have a rebound effect on and are based on material and ideological struggles around the world and are embedded in day to day practices. Water struggles around the world and the transnationalisation of the water movements are part and parcel of this global-local articulation and thereby justify and build up the attribute of ‘from below’. They are contained and drive the convergences of local struggles and at the same time go beyond the arithmetic of alter-globalisation temporal chains of confrontations because of their material embeddedness in water systems and their discursive shift.

### **Beyond the initial anti-corporate frame lies the quality of the movement**

The chapter has demonstrated that water movements have gone beyond the initial frame of anti-corporate ideology and have turned to and expanded issues of human rights, democratisation of public sector management and environmental management of water resources. This means that water movements have effectively addressed, if not overcome, one of the key criticisms put forwards against the alter-globalisation movement: the lack of a strategic and implementation-oriented focus on alternatives to neoliberal globalisation and its consequences. Skidmore argues that the anti-globalisation movement has so far mostly focused on slowing down corporate globalisation and “resisting the most egregious of



governmental and corporate abuses" (Skidmore, 2001) and did not give rise to "a coherent and widely accepted vision of an alternative future" (Skidmore, 2001, [s.l.]).

A key argument I develop in respect to the transnational water movements then is that they have been able to start an effective search for and indeed seek in their political project to develop and implement alternatives. The anti-corporate motivations at the centre of the ideology and strategic vision of alter-globalisation movements, as described by Starr (2000), are thereby enriched with a viewpoint of and real existing political practice of appropriation. This is a perspective and political practice that accepts the critiques of globalisation and on that basis builds varieties of resistances and potential alternatives.

For that reason, I argue that the transnational water movement is one of the most successful parts of the alter-globalisation movement, even though their sustained effectiveness of implementation of alternatives is a matter of investigation and debate. The capacity and political process of reaching effective implementation is an issue of contentious debate both in the literature (for example Amenta and Young, 1999; Giugni et al., 1999) and also the movements themselves (see for example Balanya et al., 2005). This self-knowledge and its scientific investigation lie at the heart of this research. In order to substantiate that claim and more importantly in order to develop mid-level theoretical insight into how movements in fact implement their own objectives of a movement discourse on water appropriation, I now turn to a comparative analysis.

## **6. Data and Analysis II: Typology**

*This chapter begins with an introduction to explain in detail the empirical and analytical strategy. It then shortly presents a general typology of movement struggles and moves on to develop the typology theory on appropriation struggles. In order to do so, the chapter develops the concept of movement-reform interaction and applies this as discriminatory factor between the general typology and the typology theory. The typology theory develops interim findings in form of an analytical matrix, contingent generalisations and a preliminary general pathway. This construction is chosen in order to further investigate the emancipatory discourse and political strategy presented in Chapter 5, and their qualitative shift towards public alternatives and the propositional and pro-active agency of water movements. The chapter ends with section 6.4. that presents intermediate findings that are employed in the design and analysis of the case studies in Chapters 7 and 8.*

### **6.1.Introduction**

#### **Explaining the rationale and starting point**

In this chapter I build on the findings of the first empirical research element developed in Chapter 5, moving from water as heuristic discourse and emancipatory project to public water as analytical category. I develop a typology theory for public water struggles at local and national, or local-national level. I do this with the aim of mid-range theory development to inform the case study research that I develop further below in Chapters 8 and 9.

In line with the explained approach to public water as discourse, project and analytical category (see beginning of Chapter 5), the starting point of the typology is the analytical category of public water. The empirical element of typology building is theory-oriented and represents a theory-building exercise that works with normative, policy, institutional and organisational change perspectives. Its outcome is a comparative typology for public water struggles. By these means, I locate and provide an intermediate assessment frame for the movement sector that considers the impact of social movements on urban water sector reform and in particular the political process of their emergent counter-hegemonic political practices at the national-local.



## **The research strategy of typology theory**

The strategy inquires into how movement sector organisations interact and interrelate with utilities and policy institutions at local-national level in order to prevent privatisation (and/or to implement reforms in public utilities). It has the purpose of developing a categorisation in form of a typology and an account of these different local movement events, in form of a typology theory development. Informed by George and Bennett (2005), the objectives of this specific typology exercise are:

- strategic identification of most useful case study approach for research element number four according to George and Bennett's (2005) methodological propositions
- to check the scope of validity of the concept of movement-reform relation as a synthesis of collective beliefs of the movement sector
- to build a broad typology that allows for comparisons
- theory-building for the role of movement events in water sector reform in general and for the concept of movement-reform relation specifically

## **Explanation of the typology theory approach**

The twofold construction of a general and a complex typology allows me to allocate which general types of movement events are relevant for the types of struggles where the movement-reform interaction concept applies, in other words struggles for social appropriation of water services. This division is described, in conceptual terms, between generalised movement events in urban water and the subgroup of movement-reform interaction. With the concept of movement-reform interaction I can analyse instances where there is a considerable interaction or impact of movement activity on water governance or management system.

The typology was developed by a qualitative desk study that compared the cases of movement articulations during reform processes, mainly on the level of municipalities. A set of variables and categories is developed to compare the politicised participation of the movement sector in municipal or national reform processes. These categories firstly deal with the type of relation and its outcome and secondly with the proposals of the local movements for new forms of public utility design. In other words the political process and the new forms it generates.

The heuristic typology approach expands on typical studies on social movements that tend to aim at trajectories of movement events through the comparison of political opportunity structures (POS) or resource mobilisation. Instead of such differences, I am primarily looking for commonalities and positive, constructive elements in the relations between movement and reform processes. The comparison and typology deals only with visible, detectable movement interaction and does not try to sort through the cultural and invisible impacts of movement activity. Notwithstanding the recognition of the importance of the cultural aspects, this limitation is necessary in order to keep the comparison manageable.

### **Introducing the concept of movement-reform interaction as discriminating factor**

The concept of movement-reform interaction is employed as the discriminating factor between the general typology of water struggles and the typology theory development. Leading on from the findings of the analysis of the movement discourse and political project, the analytical category of public water discerns the constructive influence of the movement sector in the WATSAN organisational field. This refers to the qualitative shift in movement discourse and political project towards public alternatives and the propositional and pro-active agency of water movements, as presented in Chapter 5.

In order to capture this by an analytical category, I consider that alternatives and agency depend on the interaction of movements with water systems and related transformational processes. This means that I can talk about a movement-reform interaction so as to capture analytically the core of the qualitative shift in the movement sector's discourse. It thereby is the discerning factor, the cut-off point of cases that divides cases outside or within the framework of typology theory development. That is to say that where struggles are purely defensive, the theory-building does not apply. Instead, it concerns social movements with a pro-public type of intervention. The concept of movement-reform interaction correlates with the conceptual framework of social appropriation, radical reformism and politicised participation that I have developed as analytical framework. And it correlates with the findings at transnational level. Furthermore, it is the basis for the category of pro-public challenge that I develop as part of the typology theory. The foundation of this central concept is explained in Box 7.



### **The category of pro-public challenge**

The pro-public challenge is a systematic framework capturing the movementisation of urban water politics and the emergence, articulation and implementation of public water alternatives occurring at local-national and transnational levels.

The empirical foundation is developed in chapter 6 and revolves around the qualitative shift of movement discourses and political project.

In correlation, the analytical category of public water as developed in this chapter includes the notion of movement-reform interaction. Both empirical and analytical elements correspond to the conceptual framework of appropriation struggles elaborated in chapter 3.

The heuristic and explorative concept of pro-public challenge is an interim finding that flows into the complex typology theory building.

#### **Box 7 The category of pro-public challenge**

## **6.2. The general typology of water struggles**

I now present a deductive list of general types of water struggles. The broad deductive typology is not theory development but designation of different types of urban water struggles, setting out movement events in three overall categories: anti-privatisation, de-privatisation and public sector campaigns. These categories describe the phenomenon of urban water movement politics as encompassing a broader movement character than the theoretical concept of movement-reform relation. It is a finding in its own right while also serving as a basis for the further development of a complex typology in the form of an analytical matrix. I further discuss this general typology in the next section in order to define which of the types included in this typology are relevant for the conceptual focus of appropriation struggles.

### Anti-privatisation campaigns/struggles

- *Prevention* through establishment of
  - legal protection to privatisation (constitutional, legislative)
  - elite support in political system and institutions
- *Contravention* to general threat or acute process of
  - legal changes (policy) towards commercialization and liberalisation
  - concrete strategy of privatisation (contract)
- *Regulation* and prevention of negative impacts of privatised company
- *Change in contract* conditions or re-organisation of contract to other model (i.e. from concession to PPP)
- *Periodic contractual reviews* and re-contracting (French model)

### De-privatisation

- *Re-communalisation / re-municipalisation*
- *Re-nationalisation*

### Public sector reform campaigns/struggles

- *Permanent socio-political processes* to run and maintain public system
- *Drive for (organisational) change* in terms of effectiveness and/or publicness/participation of public company/institution without issue of private sector
  - Politically-induced
  - Public sector-led
  - Community, beneficiaries, and/or social-movement -led
- *Pre-privatisation enhancement and/or restructuring drive* of public entity as result or part of anti-privatisation campaign,
  - Public sector-led
  - Community, beneficiaries, social-movement, and/or politically -led
- *Post de-privatisation recuperation and restructuring* of public institution and organisation
  - Public sector-led
  - Community, beneficiaries, social-movement, politically -led

### **Box 8 General types of urban water movement strategies (General Typology)**



### **6.3.The typology theory on appropriation struggles**

#### **Overview of Analysis**

I have developed the general typology in order to systematize movement activity. On this basis, I now reduce the general typology into a more complex one, discerning the theoretical concept of movement-reform relation. I use purposive sampling techniques to develop a small case population with which I develop, in a deductive-inductive iterative process, an interim matrix, contingent generalisations and generalised pathway.

#### **Case sampling for typology comparison**

Following Bailey (2005), sampling is part of the bounding of the collection of data, which means to define aspects of the cases that one can study within the limits of time and means and that are connected directly to the research question and that probably will include examples of what one wants to study. Also, proper data sampling is crucial for later analysis and is therefore purposive. It is a “decidedly theory-driven” process (Miles, 1994, p.27).

Multiple case sampling looks at a range of similar and contrasting cases, and strengthens the reliability and stability of single or within case studies. Yin (2007) calls this a replication strategy. In grounded theory, a similar role is played by “multiple comparison groups” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.28). An explicit sampling frame is important for multiple case sampling, especially where a mixed strategy of single case studies and multiple comparative case studies are employed. The sampling techniques for this typology, following the framing concept of Miles and Huberman (1994) were a mix of politically important cases, critical case and theory-based sampling. While a common practice is a generic funnelling sequence for sampling, I applied a reverse, outwards funnelling from critical cases to those that were politically important and in addition in line with the theoretical objectives. I then reduced the sample size by method of homogenous sampling in order to focus the sample population further to the theory purpose and thereby facilitate comparison.

One important result of the sampling process was that the comparison, based on prominent cases in the networks’ debates, included mainly cases from South America. This suggests that the experiences of water struggles in terms of social appropriation often occur in that region. Also, network density of global movement networks is higher in that region than in others since South American countries are highly interconnected and have strong relations with Northern NGOs.

From the predominance of South American cases, I conclude that the collective beliefs of the global movement in relation to appropriation struggles rely heavily on the experiences in key countries in that region. This is especially true for European perspectives. This is an interesting though not unexpected finding that partially reduces the applicability of explanations and description on which the theory-building is based to that region. However, these cases can be treated as most likely cases or extreme cases and thereby gain a historicised, relative significance for global theorisation. The sampling resulted in the following nine cases, which underline the typology theory development:

- DMAE, Porto Alegre, Brazil
- Cochabamba, Bolivia
- La Paz/ El Alto, Bolivia
- Olavanna, Kerala
- Grenoble, France
- Bogota, Colombia
- Recife, Brazil
- Venezuela, Caracas
- Peru

The primary data source for all but the Peruvian case is Reclaiming Public Water compilation of case studies (Balanya et al., 2005). For the case of Peru the data sources are public presentations and primary documentation collected from activists of the Peruvian water movements during international forums.

### **Subtraction of types from general to complex typology**

This subtraction occurs according to the general types in line with the interest for insight and the next logical step in theory building. The discriminating factor for the subtraction into the second typology is the concept of movement-reform relation and its key aspect of substantive impact on public sector reform. By this I mean to describe not the mere stalling of policies but the articulation of new political options, such as alternative models for utility reform.

Obviously, although this may be a clear conceptual division, the empirical world is fuzzier than that. Especially when also considering cultural, invisible impacts of social movements on sector reform. Since this however has been excluded for this analysis because of reasons of practicalities, the division is not so problematic.

In the general typology, the following elements can all be aligned to the concept of movement-reform relation and postulate in their political process of movement politics what I call a pro-



public challenge. It is these types of cases that are further considered in the second, complex typology and for which the conceptual and analytical framework is suited.

- re-communalisation, re-nationalisation, re-municipalisation
- drive for (organisational) change
- pre-privatisation enhancement and/or restructuring drive
- post de-privatisation recuperation and restructuring

**Categorising the cases of the second typology into the type nomenclature of the first typology**

Below, in Box 9, I categorise the cases analysed in the comparative typology according to the type nomenclature that I developed in the first typology. All types from the general deductive typology that I identified as aligned to the concept of movement-reform relation are represented in the case population of the second, complex typology. These are set out in the table below in two different forms. First, according to case and secondly according to type.

<b>According to case</b>
Cochabamba: Social appropriation, post-de-privatisation recuperation and restructuring
El Alto: Social appropriation (in the process of)
Perú: Pre-privatisation enhancement and/or restructuring drive
Porto Alegre: Social appropriation of public entity
Olavanna:, social appropriation of public entity
Grenoble: re-communalisation
Bogotá: drive for (organisational) change
Venezuela: social appropriation of public entity
Recife: Pre-privatisation enhancement and/or restructuring drive
<b>According to type</b>
Re-communalisation: Grenoble
Social appropriation: El Alto, Cochabamba,
Drive for (organisational) change: Bogotá
Social appropriation of public entity: Porto Alegre, Olavanna, Venezuela
Pre-privatisation enhancement and/or restructuring drive: Perú, Recife
Post de-privatisation recuperation and restructuring: Cochabamba

**Box 9 Types and cases**

## **Insights from subtraction**

The allocation of deductive types of movement events from the general typology offers interesting insights. The cut-off point was a substantive role in public sector reform as expressed in the concept of movement-reform relation. It is clear that the phenomenon of urban water movement politics is larger than the scope of the theoretical concept of movement-reform relation. This is significant for the collective beliefs of the movement sector. It means that not all water struggles actually articulate alternatives and pro-public reform potential. The consequence of this for the validity of movements' collective beliefs on the global level has to be analysed further, which I do by means of the typology theory below.

Subtraction yielded, as was expected, that the phenomenon of urban water movement politics is much larger than the scope of the theoretical concept of movement-reform relation. The consequence of this for the validity of movements' collective beliefs on the global level has to be analysed further. The spread of significant, visible movement-reform relation is indeed small when the discriminating factor was chosen as it was. However the impact in the specific cases was significant and important. The expectation to find a very complex and context-specific movement-reform relation was confirmed. Only rarely do cases present substantive impact of movements and new models for public reform. This was confirmed by the subtraction technique to a certain extent.

## **The preliminary matrix**

The matrix presents a partially-ordered, time-sensitive, and concept-sensitive matrix. The comparison approach employed in this matrix is both case and variable sensitive. Time sensitivity is achieved by the determination of different stages of development through the different categories. The context and background, the hegemonic restructuring, the challenge and resistance and so on are ordered in a way that allows a logical reading from top left to bottom right of the matrix. Not all cases cover all categories as for some cases categories do not apply. For example in Recife where no privatisation took place, or for El Alto where, at the time when the typology exercise was actually done in the second year of research, no alternative restructuring had (yet) occurred.



<i>Primary categories</i>	Background and context	Opposition/Resistance to hegemonic restructuring and/ or challenge for alternative	
<i>Secondary categories</i>	POS: national and international external factors, transnational movement networks	Precipitating Factors	Type of Movement
Alternative Proposal			
Development of alternative proposals	Form/ Content of proposal	Implementation of alternative path of development	
Alternative Restructuring		Power	
Type of re-structuring		Movement Impact	

**Table 1 Preliminary matrix**

The analytical process to develop this matrix started with the deductive development of categories on the basis of the conceptual framework. Then, an iterative coding process between inductive and deductive steps applied grounded theory approaches and more pre-conceptionalised codes (as proposed by Miles und Huberman, 1994). This pattern coding merged into the preliminary matrix. The data set with which this was developed can be found in Annex III: Filled Meta Matrix. I now present the findings of the data analysis in the form of contingent generalisations and a generalised pathway. In combination with the preliminary matrix, they are the basis for the case studies.

### **Preliminary contingent generalisations**

A summary table of the contingent generalisation now considers the generalisations drawn from the data analysis via the typology theory and systemises commonalities, differences and presents some side remarks. This search for commonalities and differences is part of the methodological programme of typology theorisation. These generalisations are drawn from the data analysis and are interim findings of this research element. They inform the further qualitative research of case studies.

Theme	Commonalities	Differences	Remarks
Type of actors	Multi-actor coalitions	Role of trade unions	
processes of developing alternative proposals	professional support, leadership, socialisation and legitimisation	timing	learning process across struggles, inclusion-exclusion of actors problematic, socialisation under inequalities
political system	strong link between electoral system, current political trends and movementisation	power shift formal or informal, long-term or short-term	sustaining counter power of movements in political system of state apparatuses
power	discernable decisive	different types of power	different types of



Theme	Commonalities	Differences	Remarks
	moment of power shift , decreasing potential over time	and scopes of taking power leading to different outcomes	power, different spaces of power, movement action in (state-public) hierarchies
law	dependence on primary legislation, political and institutional interference in municipal processes	primary law can be positive or negative factor	multi-scalar processes
participation (lack of data)	drivers for more participation impact on participation mechanisms	-	-
alternative proposal and result of institutional and organisational change are	relevance for model creation for the implementation the re-composition is the important aspect	alternative proposals differ according to types of movement and types of articulation of antagonism	dependent on change of social relations
procedural and structural power	impact on institutions and organisations by movement proposals and restructuring is dependent on the way power is created changes for movement actors position in water system	short-term mobilised power or new mechanisms of movement power exercise or politically led participation	crucial element for implementation of alternative and alternative path of development
POS relevant for implementation and restructuring	-	-	-

**Table 2 Initial generalisation**

These generalisations illustrate that different actors drive processes, as the roles of trade unions are found to be different in Peru, where they are propositional actors, to El Alto and Cochabamba, where they are passive and restrictive actors. The process of developing proposals for alternative models differs in timing but is similar in terms of professional input, leadership, consultation, socialisation, and legitimisation. The political system, POS and drivers for change in social movements present a correlation in almost all cases. References to primary law are present also in cases at municipal level. Resource issues and primary governance laws are issues that are discussed in parallel and beyond municipal struggles and campaigns.

The 'moment of taking/being granted structural power' is where 'power-to' is created and different trajectories of proactive or reactive movement impact can follow, depending on whether power-to can be sustained. This means in consequence that transformations of participation can occur, describing institutional shifts in power relations. Here, similar forms of organisation in South America are found in networks between different types of actors.



The contents of proposals all include an expansion of publicness and refer to participation as progressive reform element. However, alternative proposals differ according to types of movement and types of articulation of antagonism. Procedural and structural powers are crucial elements for implementation of alternatives and alternative paths of development. In this regard, POS is relevant for implementation and restructuring beyond its explanatory field of movement emergence.

### Preliminary generalised pathway

In addition to this preliminary list of generalisations, I develop a preliminary generalised pathway. This pathway helps to systemise and ease the reader's access to the mid-range theoretical model of the political process of movementisation of WATSAN reform that I have called pro-public challenge. It is a guidance pole with which I have approached the case studies and which I develop further on the basis of the qualitative data analysis of the case studies. It is to be understood merely as a representation of the incremental and step by step theory development process and not as an output of the thesis. It is an interim product of the typology analysis and serves as guidance for the case study.

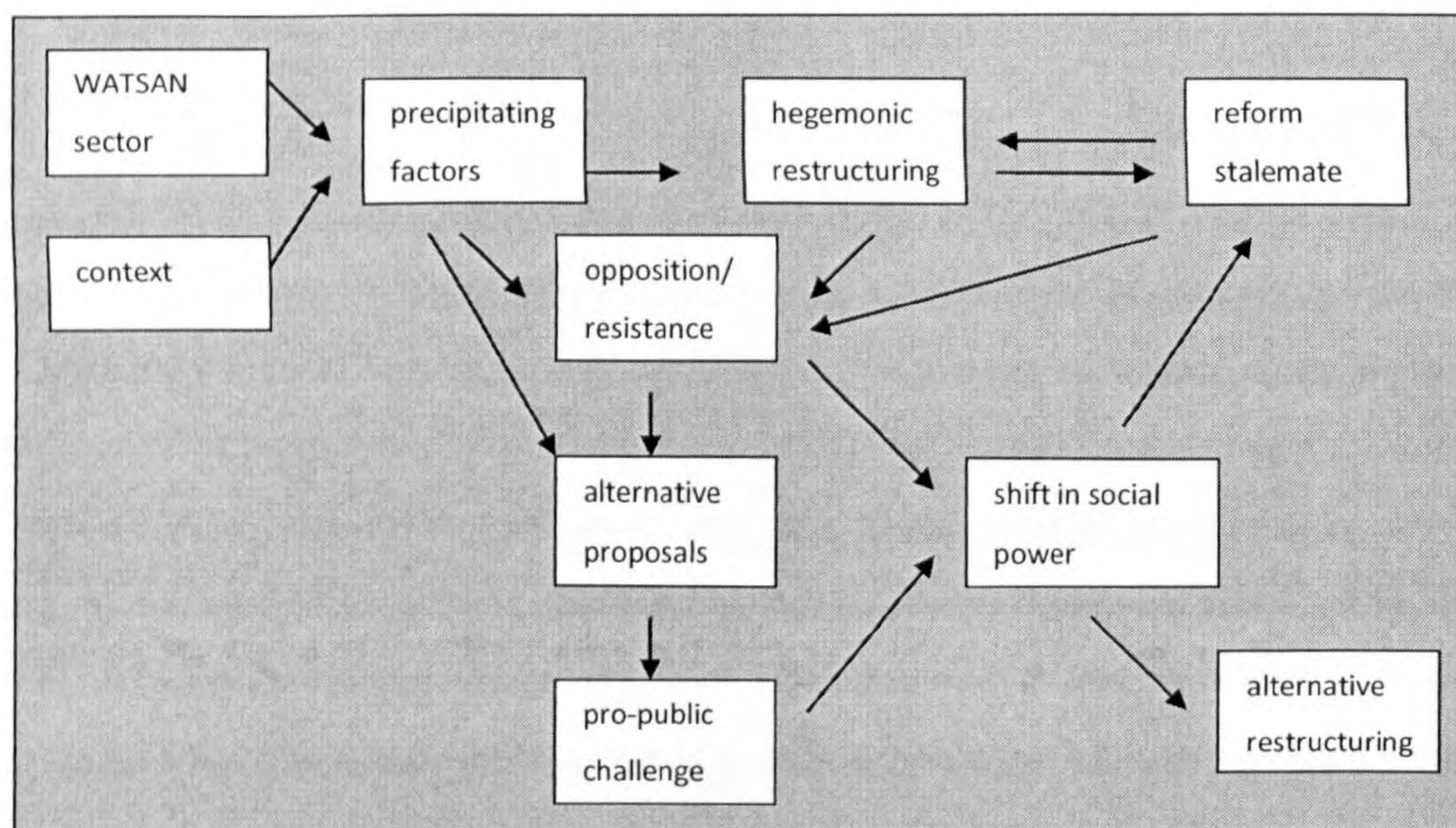


Diagram 4 Interim generalised pathway

### 6.4. Intermediate considerations for the case studies

This chapter and Chapter 5 have explored and analysed the heuristic discourse, emancipatory project, and analytical category of public water. The global water justice movement was considered in Chapter 5 as a transnationalising but locally bound movement sector, which has qualitatively shifted its discourse from anti-corporate approaches to a convergence frame of



democratisation of public water. Thereby, the heuristic discourse of public water has concretised and become more complex and sector specific. The challenges for the discursive, organisational and strategic development of the movement sector lie on the one hand in the process of reform of public service delivery systems and on the other in the agency, role and potential of the water movements themselves. The public water discourse has become more relevant to the organisational field of urban water and sanitation at the same time as not having fully operationalised and made the best out of the propositional qualities that can be attributed to the movement.

Indeed, the same is equally the case for the emancipatory project of public water, which I consider to find its most poignant content in the creative, propositional and implementation-oriented strategies of the movement. The emancipatory movement project is based on counter-hegemonic political practices by social movements that can lead to pro-public water sector reform on the basis of the politicisation and tendential movementisation of sector reform. I determined the water movements' evolving and shifting discourse with the conceptual frame of democratisation of public water and examined the emancipatory project through an analysis of the movement sector's strategies. I then applied a typology theory exercise as described above in order to check the scope of validity of the movements' evolving discourse on public water alternatives and its own role in these and, importantly, to gain theoretical insight into this phenomenon.

### **Key input to case studies from the consideration of the water movement sector**

I have demonstrated that the organisational development and political perspective of the social movement networks have grown in scope, depth and complexity. Also taking into account the rapidly increasing movement publications, email lists and international water movement events and the heightened responsiveness to local water struggles around the world in the sphere of civil society, it is evident that water movements have undergone major developments both in their character and level of organisation, strategic and political outlook, movement capabilities and capacities, effectiveness and power. These developments have allowed the global water movements to gain relevance, recognition and reach certain impacts at local, national and international levels.

The transformation of public delivery systems and the creation of emancipatory public alternatives through the politicised participation of social movements is at the centre of the political discourse and political project of the water movement sector. The qualitative shift that



I have drawn out means that there are new challenges for the discursive development of the movement sector. These are especially to be found in relation to the frames of 'water as a public good and as a commons and 'democratisation and (re-) vitalisation of public and community alternatives'.

The case studies that I undertake focus on those elements of the discursive frame that I found have been gaining importance and relevance in the movement sector and which pose a challenge for the movements. These elements of the overall discourse frame lie in enhancing the self-perception of the movements' agency, role, impact and potentials and in developing more concrete and critical understanding of the democratisation and revitalisation of public and community water. It also means the building of expert knowledge and diffusion of repertoires concerning the process of radical transformation of public water systems. I have argued that the water movements are promising to overcome the hurdles of the alter-globalisation movement in relation to the strategic and implementation-oriented focus on alternatives.

While fully maintaining this argument, the aim of the case studies is to shed further light on these crucial and emergent movement realities, in order to support and enhance the movements' development. Guiding questions therefore are how the movement actors become relevant and effective agents in water sector reform; how water movements can develop new capacities and forms of organisation; and how they can go beyond traditional forms of resistance and engage with public authorities and sector organisations in order to intervene over time in a propositional way in sector reform.

As a minor question for the case studies I suggest: what models of emancipatory public service systems can the movements generate? While this is a fundamentally important question to consider, the research is positioned, as I have argued before, at a specific moment in scientific and social knowledge production and I have deemed it more important and productive for the movement to focus the case studies on the procedural rather than the substantive question. To put it differently, it seems an important question to ask how water movements, as they turn into more knowledgeable alternative experts (Vinthagen, 2003), function and impact as 'globalisation from below' in urban water sector reform.

Given the local boundedness and the transnationalisation of the movement sector, case studies at these different levels of movement expressions are adequate and useful. It has been

shown that the movement sector networks underwent significant developments in its discourse and level of organisation, strategic and political outlook, movement capabilities and capacities, effectiveness and power. How the movements actually fill this challenge for democratic public water services with organisation, strategic action, and actual impact will determine the potential of the movement as an agency for the radical transformation of the water sector.

In summary, the case studies are to investigate, in more contextual and detailed ways, the highly political process of urban water movement sector. They focus on the new roles by which movements can have an impact in the reform of governance and management of urban water and sanitation through local-national struggles and their transnational networks. Considering the qualitative shift in the discourse frame and the challenges I have mentioned, the case studies' value lies in analysing the movements' proactive, constructive role in the reform of management and governance of urban water.

### **Key input to case studies from the typology**

#### **Choice of case studies**

The most immediate result of the typology theory building is the strategic identification of the most useful case study approach. These cases are located in Latin America. Localities suggested for further study in Latin America are:

- Uruguay, because the constitutional reform results in movement-reform interaction
- Peru, because trade unions are key actors and because of the process and content of alternatives
- El Alto, because of the process and content of the alternative proposal
- Cochabamba, because of the post de-privatisation restructuring

From this list, I have chosen Uruguay and Peru as case study locations for the PhD research because I decided that in Bolivia the political conjuncture was too volatile and complex to undertake the type of research I was looking for and because other researchers were already working there on research projects with the potential partners (for example Spronk, 2007). With Peru and Uruguay as case studies, I combine a national with a national but locally embedded case study and cover the areas of implementation of a successful constitutional reform and an ongoing campaign coordinated by trade unions in favour of alternatives to water privatisation. The mix of these two case studies will deliver a thorough picture of the



movement interaction to reform and thus of the pro-public challenge of the water movement sector.

### **Conceptual input**

The other main purpose of the typology exercise is the theory-building for the role of movement events in water sector reform in general and for the concept of movement-reform interaction. This addresses the question of how movement sector organisations interact in political processes with utilities and policy institutions in order to prevent privatisation and/or to implement emancipatory reforms in public utilities. In addition to the core matrix, the contingent generalisation and pathways and typologies developed that are to guide and inform the case studies, the typology theory building exercise has identified key fields of interest to develop in the case studies. These are:

- organisational forms of social movements
- strategies and political articulations with authorities
- development and legitimisation of alternative models
- role of model as tool in political process
- power to implement and specific moment of taking power
- restructuring process
- openness of system to change management by social sphere
- movement capacities
- depth of change in social relations and re-composition of water system
- content of alternative proposals
- development and articulation of new models

I have identified that the movement events related to de-privatisation and public sector reform are the most relevant movement expression for the investigation. In this regard, I argued that the elements of re-communalisation, social appropriation, drive for (organisational) change, pre-privatisation enhancement and/or restructuring drive, social appropriation of public entity, and post de-privatisation recuperation and restructuring can all be aligned to the concept of movement-reform interaction or in other words pro-public challenge.

## **7. Data and Analysis III: Case Study on Peru-Huancayo**

*This case study chapter sets out the case of Peru and the embedded case of Huancayo. It introduces the case study in section 7.1 and offers a detailed narrative account of the case, which is structured along the different elements of the conceptual framework. It then in section 7.3 discusses the discourse, outcomes and impact of the water movements in Peru and the city of Huancayo and reviews these findings in section 7.4.. The chapter then, in section 7.5., generates theoretical and conceptual results in form of a case-specific pathway, matrix and contingent generalisation.*

### **7.1.Introducing the case study**

#### **Explaining the case study in relation to the overall thesis**

The strategy of inquiry of the fourth research element is a combination of two comparative case studies of the movement sector-utility interaction in reform processes at local-national level (see Chapter 4 for details). The case study on Peru and the city of Huancayo is the first of these two case studies, which are employed with the aim of theory development and aims to develop middle range theory for the political process of the pro-public challenge in Peru and the city of Huancayo.

#### **Introductory overview of the case study**

In Peru, the policies of urban water and sanitation since the early 1990s have been directed towards market liberalisation and private sector participation (PSP). The policy design and implementation have proven inadequate in the socio-political context of Peru and have not met the substantial problems in sector management and governance. Instead, they led to a crisis of legitimacy. Indeed, major flaws in the design of PSP programmes, related governance reforms and growing resistance have meant an almost total standstill of privatisation and private sector participation in the time period under consideration. In addition, there is neither significant political will nor adequate policy formation to address policy failure and sector problems in meaningful, effective or substantial ways. It is in this scenario that workers, citizens and users not only resist water privatisation, commercialisation and private sector participation but also mobilise a social movement with the aim to democratise and improve public sector water delivery.



The case study focuses specifically on the experiences in the central Andean city of Huancayo, in the Department of Junín, where the pro-public challenge for alternatives to privatisation has crystallised clearly in recent years and marks a good example of the political process and content of social movement contestation to influence water sector reform.

The case study's contribution to knowledge is to narrate and analyse how the social movements have not only resisted privatisation plans through protest and mobilisation but also developed alternative proposals for utility reform, enabled new political spaces for sector politics and policy formation and enacted an innovative public-public partnership. The local social movement organisation FREDEAJUN (Frente de Defensa del Agua de la Region Junín), called below 'the Front', successfully resisted privatisation and developed in a participatory bottom-up process an alternative proposal for reforming the public utility SEDAM Huancayo S. A.. FREDEAJUN and its member the local sector trade union SUTAPAH (Sindicato Único de Trabajadores de Agua Potable de Huancayo) also successfully proposed and put on track a public-public-partnership (PUP) between SEDAM and ABSA (Aguas Bonaerenses S.A). The latter is a union-run public water operator from the state of Buenos Aires in Argentina.

### **Structure of the case study**

This chapter presents the case study in a series of different forms that move from the concrete to the analytical and abstract. It starts with a narrative account structured by the overall conceptual categories of background, resistance, alternative and implementation that were developed in the typology theory in Chapter 6. Then, I analyse the case according to considerations on discourse, outcomes and impact and move to a discussion of the case findings in 8.4, where I consider the case's implications for the conceptual framework and offer strategic recommendations for the local-national social movements. A last step is the development of typology-theory in the form of a set of contingent generalisations, generalised pathways and a matrix analyses. These are elements that have already been introduced in Chapter 7 and are now applied to the case study.

### **Methodological considerations specific to the case study**

The period of research is centred on the years 2006 and 2007 but has no totally clear cut-off points because the temporalities at national and local level are complex and the analysis required the consideration of some elements of movement development from 2000, for the national level, and 2003 for the local level. Also, I work with data from the year 2008 but only

for the theme of the PUP implementation in Huancayo and not for sector development or national movement events. This is a necessarily fuzzy but well considered cut-off point practice that focuses on the core theme of research, the pro-public challenge, without losing myself in the richness of the data.

## **7.2. The case narrative**

### **Background and context**

#### ***Historical development of the Peruvian water sector***

##### **The historic dilemma of the sector**

In the beginning of the 1990s, the water sector of Peru was reformed under the authoritarian presidency of Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000), with collaboration by the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). As part of broader economic policies of privatisation and macro-economic liberalisation, water services sector governance was deregulated towards a liberalised market model. The indirect policy objective was to prepare the sector for privatisation. Concrete results of this policy included public health scandals, whereas the long-term consequence has been an economic and institutional crisis of the public sector management and governance system. Ruling by decree, corruption, false accounting and neoliberal policy instruments, such as full-cost recovery, were elements of government action that led to diminishing collective bargaining rights, increasing unemployment, rising water tariffs and lower access of low-income consumers (Public Citizen, 2008). Overall, even though privatisation was not implemented under his presidency, Fujimori enacted a sector transformation with the collaboration by the World Bank and the IADB that resulted in serious contradictions, loss of legitimacy and a significant structural inclination of the spheres of the state and the economy to sector deregulation, liberalisation, commercialisation, PSP and privatisation.

In April 1990, the centralised state company SENAPA (Servicio Nacional de Abastecimiento de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado) was dissolved and authority over service units handed over to municipalities. This decentralisation of management structures created small units with sufficient economies of scale that could be privatised more easily than a centralised state company. In parallel, sector governance was deregulated towards a liberalised market. In 1992 a regulation agency (SUNASS) was created and in 1994 a new general sanitation services law was passed (law 26338, July 1994). After the beginning of these World Bank- and IADB-



supported water sector reforms, a cholera epidemic broke out in Peru, causing more than 3,000 deaths (Public Citizen, 2008). This cholera outbreak in 1994 and 1995 occurred at a time when the structural reforms of the sector proposed by the new general law on sanitation were in difficulties of implementation. To give an example, the national sector programme PRONAP (Programa Nacional de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado) from 1993 to 2000 involved 35 utilities but did not resolve the economic crisis of the involved water service providers. In addition, it was not available to numerous water operators who had not become legalised under the new legislative framework. The resulting inadequate urban management in a context of high urban population growth negatively affected the effectiveness of policy implementation and policy outcome, increasing the problems of the sector.

According to Hector Chungas (12.04.2006), a sector expert and advisor to FENTAP, the ill-perceived liberalisation and ineffective implementation are reasons for current service problems. For example, finances for these reforms were obtained by an arguable misuse of the National Housing Fund (Fonavi). The Fonavi still occupies Peruvian politics and courts today. Its concrete effect is a debt overburden of the Peruvian water companies, a largely unresolved issue still in Peruvian politics, despite a recent law that aims to restructure the debt.

### **Undemocratic rule and its consequences**

That the political institutions in Peru were not capable, willing or both to govern a functioning public sector may also be understood in the light of the restructuring of the Peruvian state under the Fujimori authoritarian government. Critics have called Fujimori's presidency, especially after the so-called self-coup in 1992, a corrupt dictatorship. Peru from 1992 to 2000 was indeed considered an illiberal democracy. In 1992, it was "non-democratic" and after 1993 "repressive semi-democratic" (Smith and Ziegler, 2008, p.52).

The recent history of non-democratic rule and authoritarianism implies that any democratic-popular struggle in Peru faces serious predicaments. Other factors have been the austerity measures and economic restructuring since the early 1990s and the weakness of civil society in the aftermath of the defeated but still existing Maoist insurgency and related socio-political and cultural upheaval. Civil society in Peru is structurally weak and disarticulated, which has proven to be a significant limiting factor for the Peruvian water movements in the course of the political and social struggles I refer to in this case study. This context of authoritarian statism (compare Poulantzas et al., 2000) and weak social capital in civil society sets the scene

of unfavourable political opportunities and unavailability of resources for social movements and popular-democratic struggles.

The liberalisation and privatisation agenda, which had not been fully implemented under Fujimori, was maintained in the course of democratic transition and during the presidency of Alejandro Toledo, whose presidency while being considered democratic nevertheless falls into the category of an illiberal democracy (Smith and Ziegler, 2008). The overall sector policy direction remains much the same today under the current president Alan Garcia, who shows a double standard by publicly announcing rejection of privatisation while implementing and further designing PSPs.

### **The reorganisation of the sector after Fujimori**

The reorganisation of the sector towards a liberalised market structure with municipal water companies that were the right size to privatise was accompanied by a package of public finance that could be understood as a means to make the municipal water companies more attractive to potential investors (the Fonavi fund). The democratic transitions in Peru that started in the year 2000 saw a reshuffle of institutional structures and forms of state interventions but did not resolve institutional weaknesses and organisational constraints, neither in the management of public sector service providers nor in the governance structures. This means that policy formulation and implementation capacity of sector governance institutions remains weak.

The Fujimori presidency had handed control over the sector to the Ministry of the Presidency and in 2002, in the course of democratic transition, control was handed over to a more sector specific body, the newly created Ministry for Housing, Construction and Sanitation. The Vice Ministry for Construction and Sanitation took over responsibilities, including sector development plans. The General Directorate of Sanitation (Dirección Nacional de Saneamiento) is the lead institution within the Vice Ministry and responsible for sector policy and legislation. The institutional ensemble related to the organisational field of WATSAN includes the Finance Ministry, the Health Ministry, and the National Institute for Natural Resources, amongst others.

According to Hildebrand et al. (2003), the institutionalisation is weak and roles and functions of single apparatuses are not well defined and cooperation between apparatuses is limited. The result is a lack of coherent strategic planning of policy instruments. In addition, municipalities



were reduced in their competences and resources under Fujimori (Hildebrand et al., 2003). The decentralisation policy of the Toledo government (2002-2006) reversed some of detrimental factors. State apparatus transformations in the water sector at the ministerial and directorate level point to a significant shift in power relations and state power in the water sector.

### **The neoliberal project for the sector**

The centrality of the water sector privatisation project can be read from the fact that under Fujimori it was put under direct presidential control. The Toledo government then created a specialised structure for water policy, adapting sector governance to international standards. These were and remain infused with political interests and positions that favour water sector liberalisation, deregulation and privatisation. Also, the officials and staff in the ministry and the regulating agency that I encountered in my interviews exposed clear ideological preferences to private sector participation and many were recruited from international universities, international business and economics programmes. These transformations in the materiality of the state made the sector viable for international banks and private investment.

The dominance of the neoliberal project in the Peruvian water sector is best exemplified by Proinversión, the state agency for the promotion of private investment. Its task is to implement privatisation and private sector participation in all sectors of the public economy that government policy indicates. This includes the field of water and sanitation. Proinversión was created in April 2002 to foster and implement private investment. The state agency is an expression of the state materialisation of neoliberal sector policy. In its apparatus, the neoliberal economic interests are condensed. It stands for a concrete form of intervention whereby the state directly and strategically privatises public property and public economic sectors. The existence of such an agency changes the selectivity of the state. Its only purpose is to privatise state property and it is detached from the traditional state apparatuses linked to these public sectors, and can therefore more easily unbundle existing structures and system. Proinversión is more isolated from the vested interests and relations of power in a specific field, like WATSAN, and can thereby operate more freely. In result, the state form and form of intervention since 2002 are strongly veered towards divestiture and other forms of privatisation.

## Effects of the pro-private agenda

Before this process took effect, one result of the restructuring of the 1990s that is important to consider is the high investment rates that existed in the water sector during the 1990s. That however came to a low point in 2002, which was when the Fonavi programme was cancelled. Tellingly, this coincided with the creation of Proinversión. This shows that private sector participation was on the one hand to be undertaken by a new state agency while at the same time sector policy was shifted in a way that prepared the ground for privatisation. In the absence of public funding for water services, the only options left for municipal decision-makers and utilities was to call Proinversión.

It is in such a structural and strategic fashion that the water sector since the Toledo government has been pressed into public sector malfunction and towards privatisation. What I mean is that after the Fujimori sector reforms, there was neglect and intentional, if not orchestrated, dis-articulation of public sector support by the governance structures and policies. There is indeed an effective, and one can even argue systematic, disregard for public sector options in the state structures of the sector. As one person in the regulation agency SUNASS explain with regards to public sector solutions: “nobody is looking for it” (Ausejo, 08.03.2006). Some even speak of outright sabotage by government and state structures of public service providers (EPS) in the form of finance reduction since the late 1990s. This leads me to argue that the vice ministry is the perpetrator of possibly even intentional neglect of the public sector in order to create a good environment for sector privatisation.

Moreover, conditionalities for private sector participation are written into the international donor funding schemes like the IADB project 142, which was meant to deliver funding for the number of PSPs scheduled in the national sector programme. In interviews held with the IADB and with public officials in the ministry, both claimed that the other partner was responsible for the conditionality of PSP in the IADB funding project 142, showing an uneasy uncertainty in the political positions. The result for the sector overall is an ongoing deterioration of public sector performance and one can argue that this is a tool to prepare the public and the public sector itself for further privatisation and private sector participation. In addition, the government and public bodies are not looking for engaging in dialogue with civil society organisations or the movement sector in order to sound out other options.



### ***Urban water management in Peru***

Of the 27 million people in Peru, approximately 6.4 million people don't have adequate and safe access to water services and 11.3 million don't have access to adequate and safe sanitation services. More than 40 percent of the population live below the national poverty level. The urban population stands at 71% and rural at 29% (Ministry for Housing, Construction and Sanitation, 24.03.2006; Hildebrand et al., 2003).

The management structures of the Peruvian water and sanitation sector are divided between rural areas, the latter comprising mainly Water and Sanitation Councils (JASS) and other municipal services. The urban sector is defined as systems above 1000 connections and includes 56 public companies of service provision (called EPS, which stands for 'municipal service company'), which are divided into the categories of small, medium and large EPS, with varying policies and programmes for each. These EPS are owned and governed by an owners' council (Junta de Accionistas) where district and departmental governments of the service area of the EPS come together. A special utility setup exists for the water utility of Lima (SEDAPAL), which is owned and governed by the Council of Ministers, in other words the national government. Service provision by SEDAPAL and the municipal EPS cover 62% of the overall population, while JASS cover 29% and a large number of small municipalities cover 9% (Ministry for Housing, Construction and Sanitation, 24.03.2006).

The EPS face a perpetuated situation of bad service quality, defined by insufficient coverage of water and sanitation and wastewater treatment, bad quality of service provision that endangers the health of the population, deficient sustainability of existing infrastructure, tariffs that are inadequate to operate EPS in a financially sustainable way, and institutional and financial weaknesses. The EPS are run inefficiently and ineffectively and are highly affected by political interference from their municipal owners. The municipalities are criticised for their high level of interference, corruption and mismanagement (Hildebrand et al., 2003). In addition, all but two EPS are faced with a significant debt crisis that they for the most part have inherited from a finance programme (Fonavi) under the Fujimori dictatorship.

### ***Selectivity of pro-private policies***

So, the water sector reform in Peru since the early 1990s can be understood in the light of neoliberal policy instruments of deregulation and liberalisation. Thereby, the role of government changed substantively to one of enabling and controlling. The macro-economic policies that started with Fujimori and that were taken on board to a large extent by the

Toledo and also the Garcia governments, resemble a strategy of accumulation based on international opening of national markets, driven by international finance capital. This strategy includes the creation of a market-led mode of production of public services. The policy objective is part and parcel of a change in the regime of accumulation in Peru that has occurred since the start of neoliberal reforms under Fujimori. This economic policy change relates to a nationalistic narrative of a competitive liberalisation of the Peruvian economy under the general header of neoliberal globalisation. It came hand in hand with a shift in social relations of power and impacted state structures and functions, as demonstrated by Proinversion.

In the urban water sector at least, the political project of water sector reform towards privatisation and the consequent transformation of the Peruvian water sector has created a crisis of legitimacy, implementation failures, and contradictions and ruptures in water politics and policies. Despite these ruptures in neoliberal hegemony, the neoliberal project has high perseverance or resistance potentials. This finding on the Peruvian water sector supports Heigl's (2007) argument about the neoliberal transformation of state apparatuses and state personnel. The research found that most political technocrats are supportive of the neoliberal project. Also, especially economic and finance apparatuses gained special importance and relative power in the contingent institutional ensemble of the Peruvian state.

The end of the neoliberal project is not in sight because neoliberalism in the water sector has been anchored in state institutions and is stabilised through establishing mindsets in economic, civil society and state spheres. The transformations of state structures and societal relations that have occurred are not easily undone today. In consequence one can argue with Poulantzas and Jessop (Jessop, 2008) that the Peruvian state exposes a strategic selectivity towards liberalisation, deregulation and privatisation or private sector participation. The state project however is in disarray because of a crisis of legitimacy, failure of policy effectiveness and implementation and the challenge by a counter-hegemonic movement.

### ***Private sector participation and its impasse***

#### **The national plan for Sanitation for 2005 to 2015**

Currently, this selectivity is clearly inscribed into the policy framework of the sector. The liberalisation and privatisation agenda could not be fully implemented under Fujimori and was maintained in the course of democratic transition and was fully implemented as policy



programme after the democratic transition by the Toledo government. During the presidency of Alejandro Toledo it was moulded into the National Sanitation Plan 2005-2015 (Ministry for Housing, Construction and Sanitation, 24.03.2006). The plan was released in 2006 by the Vice Ministry and sets out the specific objective of promoting the participation of the private sector. This plan remains in place today under the presidency of Alan Garcia, who shows a double standard by publicly rejecting water privatisation while still implementing and further designing PSP policies. In addition, there are conditionalities written into the current international donor funding schemes such as the IADB project 142, which is meant to deliver funding for the number of PSPs scheduled in the national sector programme. The PSP strategy is directed towards large municipal public operators.

The National Plan for Sanitation for 2005 to 2015 schedules a work programme of six PSP processes, of which one had already been finalized at the time the Plan was issued and only one remains on the active agenda of the government, namely the contract for Pura and Paita. The rest of the four privatisation projects have all been cancelled due to significant problems of the PSP designs and increasing local and national resistance. At the end of the study period, it was unclear in what way private sector participation projects, especially in the capital Lima, were to progress. Indeed, the national PSP programme that was set out in the National Sanitation Plan of 2005-2015 could not be implemented by the central government until the end of the research period in 2007.

### **Wider effects**

This is a problem for policy makers because the national plan also sets out that financing through PSP is a key component. In fact, of the more than 4 billion US\$ scheduled as overall sector funding, only 1.2 Billion US\$ correspond to national public sector funding and funding by EPS themselves. A large amount is scheduled as resources derived from PSP programmes which, considering that PSPs are not materializing for the most part until today, cuts a big hole in the government's finance scheme. In addition, 2.7 Billion US\$ of the overall budget do not have any secured funding either. And parts of the international donor funding that is calculated into the programme is conditioned for PSP processes and will only be released when PSP's are implemented, so international donor money that will not flow because PSP does not work, will cut an even deeper hole into the budget projections of the National Plan for Sanitation.

Despite assurances that the Peruvian government does not aim at privatisation of all EPS, it became very clear in the course of the research that the state project for the water sector totally dismisses and stalls options of public sector improvement. The argument presented by Mr. Rivera from the National Directorate holds that the existence of a 'Programme of Rapid Impact' exists to support revenue creation and management of middle sized EPS (Rivera, 09.03.2006). Indeed, for medium and small sized utilities there is such a programme but it is designed in such a way that it prepares smaller utilities potentially for PSP models. The German development cooperation (GTZ) takes the lead role in this programme and given the GTZ's general programmatic bias of PSP in Peru (Hildebrand et al., 2003), it comes as no surprise that this programme is also biased and in fact can be seen as a hidden preparation project for the later private sector participation in middle and small EPS. In addition, cherry picking by PSP is a very obvious structural effect of the PSP programme.

### **PSP at an impasse**

Clearly, the PSP programme and policy is at an impasse. Explanations for the impasse are the substantial flaws in the design of PSPs and the highly criticised processes of implementing PSPs, which lack transparency and adequate public participation and have, many critics argue, fostered corruption. The key factors in my view are protest and resistance by trade unions and citizen movements that have effectively prevented the planned privatisations in cities like Chiclayo and Huancayo.

So, the primary focus on PSP in national policy has not only resulted in political conflict between the government and anti-privatisation movements but has also not delivered a model of PSP that seems to be working in Peru. This leaves the Peruvian public water sector in urban areas in disarray, suffering from the heritage of unsuccessful decentralisation and flawed liberalisation and the strong structural inclination and political push towards privatisation and PSP. But also suffering from what I would call intentional neglect and bad governance that further increased the problems of EPS and thus caused deteriorated water services.

### **National resistance and pro-public challenge: FENTAP and the national water movements**

Indeed, it is in this context that the Peruvian movements raise political demands and develop technical-professional proposals for utility "modernisation without privatisation" (a popular slogan of the Peruvian water movements). This means that the movements not only resist privatisation but also demand the democratisation of public sector services. Especially the



national water services trade union FENTAP (Federación Nacional de Trabajadores de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado del Perú) in articulation with the national water movement network ConAguaYvida (Comisión Nacional de Agua y de la Vida) and a series of localised social movements (typically called defensive fronts) have in the last years pushed for the development from below of effective public sector alternatives to privatisation.

However, the Peruvian water movements are faced with indifference of the major political parties in Congress and are building resistance to privatisation at a time when the Peruvian civil society is rather weak and disarticulated. In addition, as will be shown below, the water movements themselves face difficult questions of how to organise, articulate and sustain a fundamental challenge that can intervene constructively in the transformation of a public water utility. Despite the partial success of stopping or at least delaying the PSP plans for the sector, the political situation of the Peruvian water movements leaves little doubt that a significant shift away from what could be called water neoliberalism will require a more fundamental and constructive challenge to the neoliberal reform agenda.

### **The national level**

On the national level, FENTAP has put water privatisation on the political agenda and since the beginnings of the 2000s worked on a range of water policy issues. As part of the national water network ConAguaYvida, FENTAP was able to prevent water framework legislation that was oriented to further liberalising and commercialising water resources and services. Also, the union federation worked towards a discursive re-orientation of the water debate. Firstly, with the demand for the recognition of the human right to water that was made an issue in the national Congress, and secondly by criticising privatisation and developing arguments for the modernisation of water utilities without privatisation.

FENTAP has worked particularly on their outreach strategy with other civil society actors and was a key driver for the national network ConAguaYvida. The civil society coalition ConaguaYvida found it difficult to stay active over time. One reason is that it failed to construct a sustainable common frame of opinions and political demands between the different, involved social interest groups. Nevertheless, its short-term effective intervention at different stages in recent years demonstrated that negative strategies can be effective and can indeed mobilise social groups. It also indicated that a sustained pro-public challenge at national level was unlikely when acted out by a loose and poorly resolute national network.

Unfortunately, the movement sector in Peru cannot count on wider support from a critically minded civil society or from political parties. Many NGOs remain uncritical of PSP or even support it in principle, which is clearly detrimental to the work of FENTAP as nodal point in the water movement sector.

Through its political articulation, FENTAP has to a large extent been able to de-legitimise the ostensible representation of public interest by political parties, false movement leaders and uncritical NGOs. Another element is that despite the difficulties to work with the political system of Peru, FENTAP has worked especially during election times to engage politicians and political parties, unfortunately though with little success. In the course of these interventions and because of the lack of support from civil society, FENTAP has itself developed critical knowledge about the Peruvian water sector and can now intervene strongly in professional debates of the sector.

### **The national in the local**

At a local level, FENTAP has been active in engendering and supporting local union action by its affiliated members. The aim is to enable local struggles and to develop alternative sector planning and governance not only on the national level but also with specific focus on single cases. In that context, FENTAP has turned attention to the critical PSP processes in specific cities and supported local struggles in Pura and Paita, Chiclayo, Tumbes, Ica and many other cities.

For the local level, the strategy of FENTAP reads: “each union a congress, then a proposal and a regional accord” and stands out as a clear example of the elements of a pro-public challenge led by the union movement with open alliance building. The strategy of FENTAP states that a local union should host a local public forum on water privatisation, where the local civil society can come together. The aim is to lead a process of building a local defensive front for water in articulation with other civil society groups. In these, the local trade union plays a key part for institutional backing and financial resources. Then, the local front can become a space where citizens and workers collectively resist water privatisation and develop alternative development proposals from the bottom-up.

FENTAP not only fosters resistance but also the qualitative shift towards alternatives. In this sense, the strategy of FENTAP is progressive and needs to be understood in part as a result of the international exposure of FENTAP to transnational civil society networks. There has been a



progressive learning curve by the Lima-based federation FENTAP, who have formulated and increasingly strengthened this interesting strategy to run campaigns at the level of local unions. As can be expected, it also resulted in internal political struggles about the political direction of FENTAP, as a few local unions, especially SUTESAL in Lima, are in favour of PSP and tried to stop FENTAP. Despite setbacks in cities like Tumbes, where a PSP could not be prevented, the overall experience in cities like Chiclayo, Ica and Pura and Paita shows that FENTAP has indeed developed an effective and progressive strategy.

### **The local case of Chiclayo's alternative proposal as expression of the national movements**

The clue to this strategy has been FENTAP's aim to move these local fronts from mere resistance to the creation of alternative proposals for modernisation without privatisation. This strategy of FENTAP prominently worked in Chiclayo, where a PSP process was successfully resisted in 2005. There, the local union and the local Front developed and used in their campaigns an alternative proposal for reforming the water utility without privatisation. It was only a partial success as the proposal was never seriously considered by decision makers. It is also worrying and should be looked at from the angle of corruption, that one union leader went to court because her employer, the municipal water utility, cancelled her contract without it seems court-proof reasons.

Chiclayo also demonstrated that it was going to be difficult for the national and local movements to actually implement alternative development proposals. Although the alternative proposal was instrumental in stopping the PSP, it was a difficult task to implement it once mobilisations abated after the direct threat of water privatisation was gone. Also, in Chiclayo the movement was weakened as the leadership faced repression after the PSP cancellation. For example the union secretary lost her job as a direct result of her active role in the struggle.

In a progressive process of learning, the experiences of Chiclayo informed the strategies of FENTAP, SUTAPAH, and FREDEAJUN in Huancayo. Here, the local union and the local Front mobilised and effectively stalled the PSP process again with the argument that public alternatives existed; but instead of stopping there they developed a public-public partnership in order to take the process of reclaiming public water one step further.

## **A pro-public challenge**

The new discourse, which is developed by the movement sector under the auspices of FENTAP, is founded on the human right to water approach and concretises a progressive concept of modernisation of the public water utilities and their governance structures. I found that in the last five years the pro-public and anti-private stance has crystallised and radicalised. The progressive development of these contents of alternative models for the Peruvian WATSAN sector, and its articulation with other social organisations and political input to policymaking, demonstrates that FENTAP has developed a genuine pro-public challenge to the PSP dominated state politics and policy making.

FENTAP argues that addressing the deterioration and dysfunction of the public sector and relating this to the issues of rights (labour rights, rights to public services, rights for public participation, rights to nature etc), are necessary elements of a wider social strategy to really stop water neoliberalism, transform and improve public water and sanitation services and thereby reach the human right to water for all. The concrete policy proposal is based on a series of principles such as the human right to water and decentralised popular democratic forms of public service delivery. These demands instigated by FENTAP's trade unionism and social movements, have become social forces for the modernisation of the public sector going beyond the traditional scope of union activity. This was possible because FENTAP and local fronts have expanded and transformed the former negative, reactionary strategy to a positive, propositional and protagonist strategy of modernisation and alliance building.

Indeed, the Peruvian movements raise political demands and develop technical-professional proposals for utility "modernisation without privatisation". This is not just a popular slogan of FENTAP but a demonstration of the visionary trade unionism of FENTAP, who articulate with a broad range of movements and organisations and induce them to not only resist privatisation but also to demand and become active in implementing the democratisation of public sector services. The slogan stands for a package of movement strategy that contains proposals, analyses and arguments for the reform of the public sector governance, finance and utility management in Peru.

The collective vision and concrete proposals of the movement sector in terms of pro-public demands have mostly crystallised in the local arena. Input and support from the national level through organisations like FENTAP and the human rights NGO 'Asamblea Permanente de



Derechos Humanos de Peru (APDDHH) are indeed crucial in the organisation of the movement sector. The demands are also channelled into governance and policymaking at state level. The emergence of a distinct pro-public challenge at national and local level has created a series of new demands and exigencies for the movement sector as a whole and especially for FENTAP, who in the role of policy proposing organisation and mobilising entity, is at the nodal point of the Peruvian water movement sector.

### **Weaknesses**

A major problem is the organisational limitations and weaknesses of the union federation and the lack of strategic partners, apart from a few like the APDDHH. The movement sector is loosely formed and articulated with other social organisations and remains mostly outside of party politics.

FENTAP needs to further increase its capacity and organisational strength in order to spread this strategy and make it more effective and sustainable. A task that is easier said than done in a country as large, diverse and complicated as Peru. A key limiting factor for FENTAP is the lack of support by sector professionals, NGOs and universities (in Gramscian terms “specific intellectuals”). But also the organisational and political weaknesses of a Peruvian labour movement that only slowly is finding back its soul after years of dictatorship and neoliberal restructuring. However, some members of the federation's union and local fronts do appear as political forces locally, up to the point of standing for local elections.

FENTAP's emerging new frame towards a new discourse and strategy led to growing demands by members and exigencies that FENTAP could not meet because of resource restraints and lack of social capital and partners in civil society. One such restraint lies in the lack of strategic partners in sector specific NGOs and sector professionals. But also, restraints are the result of repression by state governments and public sector bodies, also utilities. Also, there is the threat of political capture of the trade union movement that played out during the general elections in 2006; in the trade union of the utility of Lima, SUTESAL, where the former trade union secretary was complicit in an outsourcing project and was rewarded by the APRA party (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana - a populist political party with strong neoliberal stance) with a secure candidature for a seat in the national parliament. This shows that cooptation, in addition to repression, is an important tool by the state and political parties to confront unions and social movements.

## **Local resistance: Stopping the privatisation in Huancayo**

### **The privatisation attempt**

SEDAM Huancayo is a water and wastewater utility that has a special place in the Peruvian water sector because the former mayor Pedro Morales successfully refused to acquaint the utility to the law changes that established today's EPS structure. This occurred in the 1990s and meant that until January 2007 the water utility was under almost direct control of the provincial mayor of Huancayo, whereas according to the law, it should have been owned and controlled by all district mayors whose areas are serviced by the utility. In fact, Pedro Morales and his successor Fernando Barrios Ipenza of the APRA party have mismanaged and exploited the utility to a great extent and used their unjustified political control for that purpose. It resulted for example in a serious water quality problem in 2005 and a staffing level beyond reason, as both mayors put their party friends into unnecessary jobs in the utility.

Then in 2003, shortly after winning the elections, Barrios Ipenza initiated the privatisation of SEDAM Huancayo S.A. through a municipal decree on the 12<sup>th</sup> of November 2003. That was substantiated with an accord of the council of shareholders in November 2005. In fact, this was a unilateral decision for the PSP process by Barrios because the shareholder council was not legally formed as it did not consist of the district mayors. The latter in fact could not decide on SEDAM's future, although they should have done so. As mentioned above, SEDAM was only acquainted to law only in January 2007, which happened solely because of enforcement by the regulator SUNASS.

Barrios delegated the conduction of the PSP to ProInversión, who in due course took over the management and design of the PSP process. Also, the EPS was put under emergency law for water quality problems in 2005. This occurred through a special legal tool of the water sector legislation by which the central government and the municipal owner can more directly intervene in the utility and can make additional municipal debt. Substantial investments were made which a year later proved to not have resulted in functioning infrastructure. Explanations for this are mainly bad management, corruption and political interference. The next big step for the PSP occurred when ProInversión approved the public tendering baseline document for the contract, which was released in February 2006. Between 2003 and 2006 however, the PSP process was anything but smooth. This can be demonstrated by its results, as the initial plan in 2003 involved a concession but by 2006 these plans had to be downgraded to a management contract because the concession was met with heavy criticism by experts regarding the



concession design. There was also consistent and well organised popular protest during this period.

The trade union SUTAPAH organised various public forums during that time. In March 2003, a local Front was created during one of these public forums but initially struggled to turn into an active force, which was resolved when Nelly Avendaño became the President of the Front that was renamed FREDEAJUN in April 2004. Since then the Front has been a vibrant movement space in which the trade union, defensive fronts of the districts of Huancayo, associations of market workers and school fathers, some irrigation farmers and many others organise and mobilise. The main strategy of the Front was public protest, as during a city-wide strike on the 30<sup>th</sup> of March 2005 that demanded the full cancellation of the process. Also on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of March 2006, World Water Day, did Huancayo see a strong demonstration against water privatisation. Other elements involved the public denunciation of the misconduct of Barrios and the failings of the PSP. Increasingly also the demand and development of a public alternative turned into a central aspect of work for the Front.

As a result, Proinversión and Barrios not only had to downscale the concession to a so-called management contract but also had to delay the dates for the public tendering again and again in order to try to generate support, which they attempted by dubious means like trying to bribe movement leaders or sending out utility staff to fly post against the Front. The final blow to the management contract came shortly after the general elections in 2006. Water privatisation had become a national election issue and APRA, hoping to win the Presidency, tried to calm the mood by announcing that privatisation was off their national agenda. The PSP in Huancayo could not be rescued without creating major upheaval. In addition, the PSP in Huancayo had become a thorn in the side for all parties involved, including the IADB. At the end, Proinversión was left with no other option but to cancel the PSP, which occurred by public announcement on the 26<sup>th</sup> of September 2006. Also in September 2006, Barrios Ipenza and APRA were voted out of office in Huancayo, mainly because of the misconduct of trying to enforce the PSP against popular will. These events opened a new phase in the struggle of Huancayo, one that had already been prepared during the years that preceded the cancellation.

The result of local resistance was that various PSP options from privatisation to concession to management contract were put forward and rejected by public opinion and mobilised against. The trade union organised a regional Front in the defence of water. Various major strikes and

protests and the fact that the PSP proposals have major weaknesses, errors and are most likely linked to corruption have stalled the process. The social demands for cancellation of the PSP project were linked to demands for the creation of a space for dialogue on the basis of a public reform agenda. Many local public and private organisations have spoken out against the privatisation while the union leader in the course of 2006 and 2007 was repeatedly threatened with losing her job and bribes were offered to social leaders of the Front.

## **Local alternative proposals and resulting restructuring**

### ***Constructing a popular alternative proposal***

A growing and critical element of the strategy has been to resist privatisation in the streets as well as to build and articulate an alternative proposal. In April 2006, a series of workshops started with the support of FENTAP. These workshops were spaces which brought together sector experts friendly to the movement (who were few and far between), representatives of the member organisations of the Front and the council of the Front. It was the basis for developing a common knowledge base about the problems of SEDAM and possible options for modernising and democratising the utility. The process was coordinated by an advisor of FENTAP, whose geographical and organisational distance however posed a challenge.

In September 2006, the Front released a 'Basic Outline for the Sustainable, Participatory and De-politicised Modernisation of SEDAM Huancayo Without Privatisation', which argued that SEDAM had all the elements to be a viable public utility and set out new principles for a public-participatory utility that would provide adequate water and sanitation services to its citizen-users, who had the right to control the company. On that basis, the 'basic outline' developed detailed plans for managerial and institutional reforms that included the proposal for a PUP.

This process and the resulting proposal illustrate the first qualitative shift of the movement towards becoming a pro-active social force that can intervene constructively in politics and state institutions, handle sound technical and professional debates and propose alternative develop new plans for SEDAM. However, with this success, new challenges arose, both within the Front and in its political work. Unfortunately, while the trade union leadership was very active, the members of the union were hard to mobilise, as inertia, vested interests and fear prevented union members from coming forward.

Also, it became clear that the Front as a horizontal movement space had to increase its capacity and creativity to communicate with and organise its members in order to further the



'basic outline' into strong and lively popular processes. The 'basic outline' was to be discussed and socialised and agreed upon in all the member organisations of the Front and further worked on by the trade union. In addition, from September 2006 to March 2007 the Front aimed at bringing the proposal into the political field, first by trying to get commitments from candidates for the local elections to sign letters of intent.

The result was that after the elections on the 19<sup>th</sup> of November 2006 the new mayor Freddy Arana Velarde did not further pursue the PSP plans. But at the same time he was not willing to fully discard the PSP as an option. Therefore, the Front had to try to enforce the alternative proposal in a different way, which they hoped could happen via a so-called 'Social-Technical Council', which Arana had agreed to open and give sway over the decision of the future of SEDAM. The council was to be staffed with representatives of local civil society, the church, the university and so on. However, when it became clear that the Front was going to have a strong voice within that council, the political will of Arana and other groups of civil society diminished quite quickly as they did not want to hand over to the social movements the initiative to design the future of SEDAM.

This came at the same time as the Front could not, for various reasons such as scarce economic resources, pursue further the bottom-up elaboration of a more developed and concrete proposal for SEDAM, which was intended as a next step after the 'basic outline'. However, during this complex scenario at the end of 2006, before the social-technical council could be properly set up and before the proposal by the Front could be pursued further, the Front was successful with another strategy by directly approaching and negotiating with the management of SEDAM and proposing to them a public-public partnership.

### ***Development of a public-public partnership***

Above I argued that the first qualitative shift of the movement was to address the political question of an alternative with technical-professional means. The second qualitative shift of the Huancayo movement occurred when FENTAP induced the development of a south-south public-public partnership. This meant that the local Front and union had not only to link up to international water movement networks but also had to directly approach the utility SEDAM with a concrete proposal that could overcome resistance of local politics. The PUP was an integral part of the 'basic outline' and was embarked on in a much politicised manner. When the direct PSP threat had abated but local politics remained unfavourable to a public reform

process, the PUP became a professional and technical tool to start a process of change at utility level.

In October 2006, FENTAP met with the trade union SOSBA (Sindicato de Obras Sanitarias de la Provincia de Buenos Aires) from Argentina, both members of Public Services International (PSI), during the 'Blue October' events in Uruguay, where they agreed to sound out possibilities for a PUP between ABSA and SEDAM. This demonstrates how important the transnational networks of the global water movement can be in generating innovative projects. FENTAP and ABSA pursued a PUP concept of not-for-profit technical support and collaboration in the study and search for strategies of institutional and management reform that included the development of social and union participation.

After preliminary debates and a funding agreement with a European NGO, Josefina Gabriel of SUTAPAH travelled to Santa Fe in Argentina in February 2007. In March 2007 a representative of SOSBA and a senior management staff member of 5de Septiembre, the operator that is owned and managed by SOSBA and part of ABSA, travelled to Lima and Huancayo. This process amongst the movements resulted in a milestone declaration of intent that FENTAP, FREDEAJUN, SUTAPAH and SOSBA signed in March 2007. They set out their commitment to work towards a PUP between ABSA and SEDAM and to strengthen the movement in Huancayo.

On that basis, the senior staff of 5de Septiembre met with officials of SEDAM in order to introduce and substantiate the PUP proposal and to get a first baseline overview of the realities of SEDAM. In April 2007, SOSBA released a first evaluation of SEDAM that showed that utility improvements were feasible also with less investment than the PSP scheme had claimed. It also demonstrated that SEDAM had the potential to become a well-functioning public utility on its own accord, if only the right managerial decisions were taken. SOSBA also developed a draft for a PUP contract and worked on plans to involve the regional governments on water resource issues.

The common strategy of the social and union actors was to reach a political-managerial agreement. They initially hoped to achieve this in the Technical-Social Council mentioned above, which was started by the Huancayo mayor Freddy Arana under the name 'Table of Concertation'<sup>3</sup> (mesa de concertación). The Front had been seeking to implement the table as

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<sup>3</sup> Concertation in this understanding refers to a political encounter with more political decision character than a consultation. Although it is not a common term in the English language, I use concertation in this thesis in order to express the meaning of a higher quality of participation by civil society actors that the term carries in Peru.



public forum to further develop political and social support in Huancayo. But since the table did not fully operate for the above mentioned reasons, the PUP was pushed through at utility level. The breakthrough occurred when the general manager of SEDAM decided to support the PUP.

This led to the important signing of the PUP contract between SEDAM and ABSA on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June 2007. The “Framework Agreement on Cooperation between ABSA and SEDAM Huancayo” set out objectives and activities such as technological development, interchange of staff, exchange of knowledge, capacity development for staff and users, technology transfer and proposals for management improvements. The next steps in the work plan are a visit by SEDAM staff to ABSA and the incorporation of the proposals of ABSA through a soul finding process within SEDAM that can lead to a new cycle of planning and implementation of utility reform. At the time of writing these steps are held back because the municipality of Huancayo and the senior management try to cold-shoulder the reform process. This is a reality of politics and water management in Huancayo that the Front, the union and the PUP as technical though politicised tool have to confront and overcome.

So the PUP process was generated at inter-utility level but only received tentative support from the mayor Arana. This was to become a limiting factor during the ongoing implementation process of the PUP. Another problem has been the unfulfilled task of building social control mechanisms into the PUP and keeping the popular processes of the Front more integrally linked to the PUP. At the point of writing, the PUP stands out as a critical and important step in the development of a public-participatory SEDAM Huancayo.

But it remains at a bottleneck because local politics and barriers to change within the utility refuse the necessary changes of SEDAM, mostly because the proposed utility reforms would destroy the decade old systems of clientelism, nepotism and undue political control. Also, sound infrastructure development and procurement would reduce possible corruption. Nor does it help that sector governance and the national government of Garcia are unfriendly to the success of the PUP as it stands in direct opposition to the central government policy of PSP. In addition, local politics in Peru and public life in general are such difficult affairs in many ways that it is hard for the Front to hold the political leaders accountable to really support the PUP.

### ***Crystallisation of pro-public path: the limited implementation of an alternative***

It stands as a fact that the PUP has effectively prevented any new attempt to privatise SEDAM Huancayo and stands out as a great success for FREDEAJUN, SUTAPAH, and FENTAP. Also, the potentials of the PUP need to be recognised in that it has developed, via the cooperation with ABSA, a serious and workable plan for utility reform and improvement that aims at reducing costs, increasing maintenance and investment, orientating service delivery to the needs of the population and institutional reform to democratise the utility and make it accountable to the public. However, in order for the PUP to function and realise its potential, the local and national movements need further qualitative shifts in order to become sustainable, interventionist and forceful actors who can enforce the PUP agreement. The broader political space in the form of the concertation table will most likely be required to build social and political consensus for the PUP that cannot be thwarted by vested interest in the municipalities and the utility.

Also, a mechanism of social control needs to be embedded into the PUP programme while at the same time the local movement needs to remain mobilised and rebellious in order to control the process from the outside, namely from the streets. All this will require resources and funding, which are issues for the larger global water justice movements to consider. Also, the governance institutions of the sector can step in in order to support the process. This is unlikely to happen because of the current PSP policy of the Garcia government. More external support can come via specialised NGOs, professional groups and international organisations.

### **7.3. Analysis: discourse, outcomes and impact**

#### **Analysis according to discursive frame of the transnational movement sector**

The case of FENTAP and Huancayo has offered insights on how the bottom-up alternative proposal and the PUP have been effective popular tools for the reform of an ill-functioning and politically embattled public water utility and considered the organisational, strategic and political problems it has encountered. It clearly demonstrates that it is possible to engender a democratisation process at utility level despite state inclination and government policy of water privatisation. The popular resistance, the alternative proposal for a modernisation without privatisation, and the PUP are significant milestones for the Peruvian movements and also for the wider transnational water justice networks.



The case of Huancayo shows that via a strong local movement of citizens and workers it is possible to expand the defensive struggles against privatisation into reclamation for public water services. And it shows that PUPs are technical though political tools for movements to engage in utility transformation. In addition, Huancayo demonstrates a new form of active solidarity in transnational movements and also amongst public operators. It offers insights for the global water justice movement in its reflection of how to generate public alternatives and how to conceptualise and employ public-public partnerships.

Therefore, the embedded case of Huancayo has demonstrated the validity of the political discourse and political project of the national water movement sector that seeks local transformation of public delivery systems and the creation of local emancipatory public alternatives through the politicised participation of social movements.

In addition, the qualitative shift I have drawn out at the global discursive level in Chapter 5, correlates with this national level finding. This applied both to the learning processes of FENTAP and the qualitative organisational and strategic shifts that I have identified for the Front in Huancayo. Therefore, it is correct to argue that the case study of Huancayo and of Peru demonstrate the local-national application and development of the convergence frame of 'water as a public good and as a commons and 'democratisation and (re-) vitalisation of public and community alternatives'. The finding I exposed for the global movement sector, that this frame is gaining importance and relevance, is equally true for the local and national water struggles in Peru. I identified that the challenge at the global level lie in enhancing the self-perception of the movements' agency, role, impact and potentials and in developing more concrete and critical understanding of the democratisation and revitalisation of public and community water. The Huancayo Front and FENTAP demonstrate that national-local movements indeed engage in these challenges and develop expert knowledge.

Also, the PUP exemplifies how a movement repertoire that is discussed in the global networks is handed down to the local level and used in a heuristic and pilot project form. The case study has proven that the scope of validity of the water movements' discourse about public water and the role of the movements as agents of change is adequate for the struggles in Peru. The learning between the global and the local is reciprocal and a multi-scalar and multi-temporal process.



## Summary of demands and results

The following table summarises the key demands and results of the Peruvian water movement sector and the embedded case of Huancayo. It shows in a condensed form the movement demands in the areas of the key concrete-negative demand, the overall positive policy demands, rights perspectives, participation and new elements for utility reform. It contrasts these demands with the strategic, impacts, results, and resistances to change in each category. The table then offers an overall analysis that expresses the movement's need to further develop organisationally and build up its counter-hegemonic project.

I now present a summary of the discourse, strategies, impacts, results and resistances to change of the case study. By this means I synthesise the complex and rich narrative into a set of key themes. Having elaborated the case narrative and appraisal above, the table does not require further explanation as it serves as a synthesis tool for the narrative above and is further analysed by an impact analysis in the following section.

Discourse	Demand	Strategy	Impact	Result	Resistances to Change
<b>Concrete – negative Main Demand</b>  No privatisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>stop local PSP processes</li> <li>end PSP policy</li> <li>stop conditionalities in funding schemes</li> <li>stop weakening of public utilities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>national and local resistance strategy of mobilisations,</li> <li>public interventions,</li> <li>legal strategies for national referendum</li> <li>support and engagement with critical elected people in parliament and local councils</li> <li>networked articulation in ConaguaYvida</li> <li>building critical knowledge on public sector water and PSP</li> <li>strengthening of national and local movement actors</li> <li>decentralised strategy of local forums, fronts and alternatives</li> <li>pressure political</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>stalemate of PSP processes</li> <li>Huancayo and other cities stopped</li> <li>Puira, Paita ongoing pressures</li> <li>public de-legitimisation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>national funding programme at government take-over</li> <li>new government discourse falsely negating reality of PSP</li> <li>re-design of PSP policy and ongoing pressures to privatise</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>inside state apparatuses of regulation and ministries and utilities</li> <li>in institutionalised civil society and sector organisations</li> <li>political parties</li> <li>at international funders level of IFIs and ODA</li> </ul>



Discourse	Demand	Strategy	Impact	Result	Resistances to Change
		actors to announce no-PSP stance			
<p><b>Overall – positive policy demand</b></p> <p>Modernisation without privatisation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>acceptance of movement actors as legitimate sector stakeholders</li> <li>participatory governance reform for</li> <li>legislative and regulatory changes</li> <li>support for and policy for alternative EPS reforms</li> <li>stop hindrance of alternative EPS reforms</li> <li>public finance solution and Fonavi resolution</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>national and local propositional strategy: mobilisations, public interventions and national referendum campaign</li> <li>generation of new discourse on public water, new actor coalitions and sector reform proposals and tools</li> <li>organisational development to build critical knowledge and capacity to intervene in public sector and public alternatives</li> <li>strategic development of movement to engage in policy and reform processes at national and local levels</li> <li>decentralised articulation strategy of local forums, fronts and alternatives</li> <li>support and engagement with critical elected people in parliament and local councils</li> <li>concertation spaces sought with parties, elected officials, sector administrations and civil society at local and national levels</li> <li>proposals for</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>no stop to PSP policy despite single PSP processes stopped or paused or in difficulties</li> <li>single case of Huancayo start of implementation of pro-public reform</li> <li>some cases of political process towards public reform</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>no policy of modernisation without privatisation, instead new drive for PSP</li> <li>progressive learning by movement actors but also movements out of their depth in strategic, resource, knowledge and organisational terms</li> <li>case of Huancayo PUP a successful alternative reform decision paused implementation</li> <li>heightening repression against movement actors</li> <li>exigencies put strain on movement development and strategy</li> <li>political party attempt to divide movement through trade union organisation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>inside state apparatuses of regulation and ministries and utilities political resistance as power nodes in hands of pro-private parties</li> <li>in institutionalised civil society and sector organisations resistance to new discourse and reform agenda of public sector water</li> <li>political parties remain on neoliberal agenda and try to put down the movement</li> <li>barriers within the movement and civil society in Peru to meet demands generated by the resistance and propositional approach</li> <li>complexity and depth of problems of the Peruvian water sector require state and civil society to walk a common path in order to transform the public sector</li> </ul>



Discourse	Demand	Strategy	Impact	Result	Resistances to Change
		<p>legislation, regulation and EPS policy reform on national level</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>local level alternative development proposals and implementation of alternative restructuring at local levels</li> <li>development of new tools for movement to engage in alternative restructuring</li> </ul>			
<p><b>Rights perspectives</b></p> <p>Human Right to Water</p> <p>Labour rights</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>protection of labour rights</li> <li>expansion of labour rights</li> <li>pass legislation or constitutional reform for the human right to water</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>campaign for the human right to water</li> <li>campaigns and legal actions against repressive acts against union leaders and threats to activists.</li> <li>campaign for participation of unions in governance structure of EPS</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>human right to water discourse integrated into dominant PSP approach</li> <li>some repressive measures were reverted but some not</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>human right to water a useful public discourse to mobilise and frame debates but little help against PSP so far</li> <li>labour union and movement hindered by repressive tactics of government</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>weakness of the human right to water discourse and cooptation by state project</li> <li>problematic labour rights and rule of law in Peruvian politics</li> </ul>
<p><b>Participation</b></p> <p>Participatory WATSAN governance and management</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>participation in sector governance</li> <li>participation in EPS management</li> <li>participation in modernisation processes</li> <li>participation to include movements against privatisation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>go beyond law of participation and enable local and national movements to become agents of participation beyond liberal consensus</li> <li>seeking of concertation spaces with political parties and state organs and civil society as new form of politicised participation</li> <li>institutionalisation of participation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>concertation spaces in local struggles reached but only with weak set-up, thus little real impact</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>participation spaces are only weak reference points for the movement and do not result in power to act for the movement</li> <li>participation in EPS law of 2006 not movementisation oriented but on state-centred civil society stakeholders</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>existing participation mechanisms are used to overrule movementisation</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>demand for recognition of</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>union-forum-front-alternative</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>numerous fronts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>fronts find it difficult to move</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>difficulty of movement politics to</li> </ul>



Discourse	Demand	Strategy	Impact	Result	Resistances to Change
	fronts and their proposals <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ PUP new tool of movement and public sector solidarity to enact public reforms</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ alternative proposal by movement fronts</li> <li>▪ implement alternative restructuring at local levels</li> <li>▪ PUP as political and technical tool of implementation</li> <li>▪ international networks to support local struggle and alternatives process</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ a few alternative development plans</li> <li>▪ one PUP process enacted in Huancayo</li> </ul>	<p>from resistance to alternative and then to implementation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ PUP as tool proved effective to gain decision but so far ineffective to implement transformation</li> </ul>	<p>engage with state hierarchies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ PUP concept not adequate yet to be implemented as politicised tool in struggles</li> </ul>
<p><b>New elements for utility reform</b></p> <p>Local Fronts as drivers of change</p> <p>Alternative development proposals/ plans by movements</p> <p>PUPs</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Demand for recognition of fronts and their proposals</li> <li>▪ PUP new tool of movement and public sector solidarity to enact public reforms</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Union-forum-front-alternative</li> <li>▪ Alternative proposal by movement fronts</li> <li>▪ implement alternative restructuring at local levels</li> <li>▪ PUP as political and technical tool of implementation</li> <li>▪ International networks to support local struggle and alternatives process</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Numerous fronts</li> <li>▪ A few alternative development plans</li> <li>▪ One PUP process enacted in Huancayo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Fronts find it difficult to move from resistance to alternative and then to implementation</li> <li>▪ PUP as tool proved effective to gain decision but so far ineffective to implement transformation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Difficulty of movement politics to engage with state hierarchies</li> <li>▪ PUP concept not adequate yet to be implemented as politicised tool in struggles</li> </ul>
<b>Overall evaluation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The strategic approach and expectations of the movement derive from a progressive understanding of the agency and position of movement actors in WATSAN policy and politics.</li> <li>▪ They have proven effective in stalling PSP projects but not in reverting PSP policy and have not let to a pro-public policy turn.</li> <li>▪ In terms of local power to implement, the movements are developing a strategy and specific tools like alternative proposals, concertation spaces and PUPs that can lead to transformation.</li> <li>▪ But so far the exigencies have not been met that were created through these movement strategies, and their partial success. The movements' organisational development and articulation remain too weak.</li> <li>▪ At the national level the demand for a policy turn is far from realistic in the current context and the movements lack strategies to overcome this</li> </ul>				

**Table 3 Demand-results scheme Peru and Huancayo**



## **Impact analysis**

By way of analysis of Table 3, I turn to the concept of movement impact that I developed in Chapter 3 and specifically in Diagram 2. These set out the key elements of movement impact that I consider below, with the following objectives:

- draw a differentiated portrait of the impact of movements on the construction of new organizational forms
- link social movements, organizational change, and institutional analysis for the micro level of organisations in industry and macro-level of overall sector development
- evaluate whether cultural innovation by social movements creates new organisational forms and notions of institutional entrepreneurship according to movement impact on sector

## **Actor acceptance and agenda access**

A key aspect to consider for the impact of social movements is actor acceptance. Social movements seek acceptance in the politics of water services and the organisational field in general. It is important to note that FENTAP successfully turned into a recognised and accepted stakeholder. However, this does not mean that meaningful dialogue happens between the government and FENTAP. There was no such dialogue in the period of research. At local level, the fronts and unions, where social and union mobilisation does occur, successfully mobilise and protest.

This has led, to employ another conceptual category, to a certain level of agenda access. It is weak at the level of national legislation because these processes are not easily accessible in the Peruvian political context of an illiberal democratic regime. The corporatist participation process at national policy-making level excludes unions and social movements. The result is that agendas for national policy are set by agencies such as SUNASS rather than civil society participation. However, the one key agenda access that the movement at national level did effectively reach is that on the PSP programme. At the local level, agendas are set by movements occasionally, especially on the critique to PSP. In the cities of Chiclayo, Chimbote and Huanayo, the agenda setting reached the important point of being able to project and articulate public alternatives' debates.



## Policy impact at national level

As for policy victories, the movement sector on urban water services articulated with broader water user groups and environmental groups and repeatedly stalled water law reforms. This was a significant legislative policy victory at the level of the reform of the general water framework law.

The same did not happen for the resistance to the PSP programme. Even though a larger coalition of social forces gathered in ConAguaYvida, it was not possible for the union FENTAP to keep mobilising this coalition to the point where it could effectively stop the PSP programme as a whole. Therefore policy victories in that regard were merely localised, when a local union and Front successfully prevented a planned PSP process. A more indirect policy influence can be established for the movement in terms of the reforms of the regulatory system and the EPS law that were mentioned before. These need to be understood partially as results of movement politics.

What is preoccupying is that movement impact in terms of output response satisfying grievances of movement activists has been rather limited. Labour rights have increasingly been encroached upon as repressive reactions by government have increased over the years and more than just a few union activists are faced with threats and work dismissals directly related to union activities. Workers rights are affected as repression has turned more pronounced. One case of a FENTAP member of the directorate is especially worrisome but is by no means a single case. Because of her activities confronting corruption and mismanagement in the Lima utility SEDAPAL and its main union SUTESAL, she received death threats via the phone and was harassed over a period of time. The activist left the country.

As for structural change, it is noteworthy that the sector plan of PSP was on hold at the end of the study period but that funding mechanisms and state inclination remained vigilant. The Garcia government was not going to change sector policy but rather was going to make minor amendments to the language used in the PSP project while maintaining the overall policy direction. In all but two cities, namely Tumbes and Piura/Paita, PSP projects were stalled or cancelled at the end of the study period. However, this did not lead a rejection or turn-away from PSP in Peru. Rather, the national government is likely to increase the pressure on mayors to accept PSP contracts while also increasing its counter-offensive to the movement sector in terms of repression. This indeed is what has occurred during the write up period of the

research, where the FENTAP general secretary Luis Isarra was faced with a series of illegal and unjustified threats of extraordinary dismissals and cancellations of his union permit.

An impact on policy making has indirectly and more directly occurred in parliamentary processes, for example there have been various public events in parliament by the movement sector promoting the PUP policy and pro-public sector reform. But concrete and direct policy reformulations have not been reached. One key aspect of this is that the national movement actors and also the local fronts are typically not accepted as political and policy actors. So, in effect, the national PSP programme has been halted but remains vigilant while a series of local PSP projects have been put on hold or stopped entirely during the period under research.

On the national level, there has been no substantial transformation of political structures or processes even though social relations of power have shifted to a certain extent through the successful prevention of pro-private legislative changes and PSP preventions. The result was rather that government responded with heightened repressive strategies against FENTAP activists. And the hold in PSP implementation was used to re-design the PSP strategy and not for a concertation between movement and government positions. During the election period, the movement actors attempted to reach agreements with the political parties against water privatisation but only were successful with the Socialist Party. Openings of political and state apparatuses to movement actors and civil society articulation did not occur, while FENTAP has increasingly turned into an accepted stakeholder in the organisational field of urban water services. This can be exemplified by the invitations to FENATP from field specific NGOs and research institutes to speak at panels on water policy that were received repeatedly during the research period. This however does not mean that FENTAP was able to reach any concrete impact on institutionalised politics at national level. Whereas movementisation of WATSAN politics at local levels has occurred at least in temporarily restricted ways.

### **Policy impact at local level**

The most significant structural change occurred in Huancayo where the PUP agreement by SEDAM Huancayo S. A. was a major input in the ongoing though stalled transformation process. What has affected a structural change locally, is the PUP in Huancayo, where the utility and the local political and governance ensemble around it have fundamentally changed through the movement intervention and the PUP. There however, it is more a picture of stalemate than progressive change that has resulted from the PUP.



One perspective to explain why in Huancayo it was not possible to further impact on the organisational change of the utility by means of the PUP is that the political system was not transformed. Social relations of power in the specific conjuncture in 2006 and 2007 shifted to a more pro-public friendly atmosphere but the structures of the state did not change.

Democratisation or movementisation of politics was proposed in the light of the concertation space for example, thus showing that such new political forms of the state were indeed possible, but did not enter into effect.

As in the case of Huancayo, change occurs through the appropriation strategy of the movements that create alternative proposals and enable political space, decision and implementation. Even in the most advanced case of Huancayo however have the movements have not been successful in having an impact in which utility change management and organisational restructuring was implemented. Utility change management and the design of such projects are attempted through the alternative proposals in cities like Chimbote and Huancayo.

In this organisational perspective, movements appear as sources of cultural innovation that however have not been powerful enough to generate sustained and effective change management at utility level and policy reformulation at local and national level. FENTAP's strategy and the processes of local fronts are starting points for such pro-public proposals. The influence on organisations is dependent on expert support and articulation with broader civil society and the concertation with local government. The movement organisations in Huancayo did not reach this level of power to act. Nevertheless, the local Front in Huancayo has had a strong impact on SEDAM, first as SEDAM is stopped from privatisation, then as conflict over PSP is carried inside and issues are politicised, then as movement leaders find agreement with managers and work with area managers in union structure. The impact and power to act however faded at this point, as no transformation process has been created as yet. This is because inside the organisational matrix of the utility and in the external ensemble of institutions of the municipalities the movement was not able to create a dynamic of progressive sector reform.

#### **New roles for collective actors at national level**

Despite this not so promising evaluation in terms of an organisational perspective, it is clear also that the movements were forceful in the creation of new organisational forms in the sense

of movement-induced new social formations that politicise and constructively engage in water sector policy and re-organisation. Here the main drivers are local unions and local fronts, where unions and citizen movements come together and work with sector experts on alternatives. This leads local fronts to expand resistance strategy, to enter policy debates and act inside institutions of water operators. In this regard, the PUP is a new organisational form not only of international public utility partnership but also of social embedding of state productive apparatuses. At the national level there are however no significant new political and social forms. Apart from the movement coalition ConAguaYvida, this was indeed successful in reaching reactionary substantive impacts in the field of water legislation. But ConAguaYvida did not create new forms of social movement organisation and mobilisation and sector-relevant self-knowledge at national level that would be capable of influencing institutions, organisations and political decision structures of the sector at a fundamental level. Social relations of power did shift through the national protests orchestrated in this movement coalition but the state matrix did not change as result of ConAguaYvida. In turn, state decentralisation and the PSP programme have impacted on the organisation of the movement sector. On the national level, the network character of ConAguaYvida emerged because of the exigencies of the water politics around the new legislations favouring commercialisation and privatisation. This led to the demand for a concertation table at national level.

### **New roles for collective actors at local level**

Such a national level concertation table did not happen. Barrios Ipenza in Huancayo solely aimed at a space to legitimise the PSP project and sideline the local Front. This is an example of how deliberative spaces can be used by those in power to sidetrack and outmanoeuvre social movements. The difference is that in Huancayo this was prevented and as a result a concertation table was created at a point when the field of forces changed in such a way that allowed the movement to also impact on the matrix of the state and the organisational field. In this way, the institutional ensemble, if and when the concertation table is fully functioning, will accommodate the movements challenge. Since the movement's power to act was relatively weak at the time of the inception of the table, the concertation space will only give it limited power over the decision by ring-fencing the movement with civil society. In addition, the PUP can also be understood as new organisational form that creates political space for the movement inside and outside of the utility. A political space that is immediately concerned with utility change management. The weak point in this space is that movement and civil



society participation have not been formalised. Nevertheless, the PUP is a new form of public policy tool and space generated, designed and influenced by the movement sector.

### **The quality of impact: substantive but not proactive**

Overall, the reactionary substantial impact of the movement sector in Peru has been to effectively stall the national PSP programme that is set out in the National Sanitation Plan of 2005 to 2015, both at national policy level and in concrete local projects. This is the case despite failure to prevent the PSP project in Tumbes in the North of Peru. In the case study presentation I have identified and proved that, despite the considerable defensive success and the reactionary substantive impact of the movement, the creative substantive impact that was aimed for with the alternative proposal and the PUP has not been reached. When applying the concept of movement success, one learns that at the national level movement success was partial, as the defence of public utilities in concrete examples was possible and as the anti-privatisation movement did successfully prevent further legislation and did grow into a considerable social force. It remains partially successful because the PSP sector plans remain heavily anchored in the party political system and within the state apparatuses. The PSP plans were merely stalled for the period of general election in 2006 and were re-initiated afterwards by the Garcia government, even though this happened with a different discursive image.

In local terms, movement success did occur in terms of the demands for the closure of PSP projects in cities like Chiclayo. But movement success was not given to such an extent the pro-public challenges in cities like Huancayo or Chiclayo. The policy impact of the movement sector is characterised by putting a critique of PSP and a challenge for public water on the national and local agenda. Whereas agenda setting has been proven, it also became clear that agenda influence in a proactive sense was not reached. The PSP policy has not been changed at national level and apart from Huancayo no pro-public reform process was enabled in Peru. And even in the case of Huancayo were there few proactive impacts apart from the creation of new political spaces between political, collective and civil society actors in form of the concertation table.

### **Institutional effects and collective benefits: an unclear picture**

Institutional effects of the movement politics in Peru have been discussed at length for Huancayo and the table of concertation, the inside-utility strategy of the movement with the PUP. At the national level, the impact of the movement sector in terms of institutions was only

visible in the sphere of civil society of the organisational field and not in the sphere of the state. Nevertheless, new roles have clearly been established for the movement actors in that they have moved from reactionary protest to propositional, interventionist roles in governance and management, and for these dimensions are developing self-knowledge on their capabilities and expert knowledge of the WATSAN field. It remains an open question as to what way the movement sector had an impact with regard to collective benefits. One clear point to make is that the movement has prevented perceived and arguable public 'bads' in the form of water privatisation and private sector participation.

It is more difficult to discern if the pro-public challenge of the movement has had an impact on collective benefits. One way it has done so is via institutional effects on the regulatory structures, which changed in legislative and operational aspects during the research period. These regulatory improvements are likely to improve service qualities and thus generate public benefits. However, immediate collective benefits through the contentious movement politics, for example through the movement –led transformation of the utility in Huancayo, have so far not been reached.

#### **7.4. Discussion on findings**

The appraisal of the findings is discussed in the light of the conceptual framework and the conceptual input from the typology theory in Chapter 7.

##### **Conceptual considerations**

##### **National level movement organisation**

On the national level, FENTAP, as the clearing house and “organic intellectual” of the water movement in Peru, has taken on and influenced many sites of struggle and in so doing has developed an innovative strategy and political vision. However, it lacks the organisational resources, staff, sustained funding and organisational constancy (I am referring to political conflicts within FENTAP that have weakened the federation). FENTAP's problems include its relations to technical and professional advisors, who in the past have had detrimental impacts and roles. Also, FENTAP lacks coalition partners in the field of NGOs and organised civil society who could deliver valuable inputs and resources. In the past, there has been some level of disagreement among the movement and union groups about the distribution and control over financial resources that FENTAP generated and organised through its contacts with international solidarity groups. Future funders would need to keep assuring a transparent and



fully concerted project approach amongst all organisations involved, while maintaining the overall responsibility of FENTAP.

It may also be a step to consider for strong local groups like the Huancayo movement to establish their own links to international water movement organisations and integrate on their own accord into structures like the continental water network redvida This would equal a diversification and expansion process that would enrich the Peruvian movements and lighten to burden of FENTAP to always have to channel from the local to the global and would enable local groups to act more autonomously, which is especially important for occasions when FENTAP lacks resources to act on their behalf. Also, FENTAP relies heavily on their key leaders while not delegating enough, thus overloading their staff with work. Therefore, it would be important to have project related responsibilities assigned.

### **Movement capacity**

From the case analysis, it can be deduced that movement capacity building requires specific attention and needs to be part of the political strategies of movement organisations. Elements to be considered according to the findings in Peru and Huancayo are:

- diffusion of collective knowledge
- organisational strength in diverse and different types of organisation, relying on leadership and embeddedness in local neighbourhood organisations, and local-national linkages
- expert support
- expert knowledge by movement members
- long-term and secure economic resources
- NGO-social movement-trade union organic linkages
- support from organised civil society (churches, professional groups)
- legal support
- movement physical infrastructure (office, phone, computer, printing possibilities)
- access to media
- articulation of movement demands with other social struggles and political currents
- national level and international articulation

The members and supporters of the movement, especially the union membership, require special attention, involvement, capacity building and information sharing. Otherwise their

support for a pro-public approach and their active involvement will remain unsatisfactory. The union also faces the problem of a divisionary second union that was created in SEDAM Huancayo and the politically interested and illegal (to be decided in court) expulsion of the union secretary (Josefina Gabriel) from her job.

### **From defensive to pro-public quality of struggle, via alternative proposals**

The pro-public challenge, considered theoretically in the conceptual framework and synthesised into an analytical category in the typology theory, was found in this case study to consist of the collective development, implementation and sustaining of an alternative reform project and related change management process. Concretely, this involved the movement sector with its core protagonists FENTAP, SUTAPAH, and FREDEAJUN and at national level plans for modernisation without privatisation and for Huancayo a popular reform proposal and later the PUP.

The way this was undertaken in the course of 2006 and 2007 was a rather top-heavy and precarious process that involved some leaders and groups but which was not sufficiently socialised in the base organisation. Another factor was that it was inappropriately guided by an expert advisor who did not work sufficiently in accordance with local realities, needs and wants. Nor were union members sufficiently integrated and involved.

In addition, the proposal for an alternative public reform of SEDAM Huancayo that was generated by FREDEAJUN could not be shared successfully and socialised fully amongst utility staff and government officials and the general public because of adverse political circumstances. It would have been necessary, as indeed it was attempted, to run a series of public workshops in order to seek public and political agreement with as many stakeholders and political forces as possible. However, the mayor's office and the utility management refused their cooperation, thus stalling the process, while the general political situation in Peru and Huancayo turned more and more unfavourable. Garcia's presidency meant heightened repression and more neoliberal policies (new surge in water privatisation for example). While heightened political antagonism in local politics made a political agreement and concertation on the single issue of SEDAM Huancayo even more unlikely.

### **Weak movement strategies and capacities**

The refusal by the municipal government and institutions of civil society like the university to work with the alternative proposals generated by the movement and thus embark on a pro-



public reform occurred before the inception of the PUP. The PUP therefore was a high point of movement “power to act” and a successful intervention that tried to overcome the previous stalemate of the alternative’s process. But the movement did not use in the best way the opportunity of the PUP to re-launch fully their initiative and strategy on the public alternative. Arguably this was the case because of lack of funding; but I would suggest also for lack of political vision, organisational capacity and mid-range strategising. The local movement would have needed to work on the PUP and in parallel keep on developing and building its organisation and capacity around their own work on a pro-public alternative. This proved difficult, as the movement, once the concrete privatisation was pretty much off the official agenda, lost momentum on the issue of organisational reform and had to focus on issues of corruption while also defending itself against acts of repression.

Another key aspect was that the PUP was conceived and developed as a technical-engineering exercise and not primarily as a managerial-political. This had resulted in some discussions at the beginning of the PUP and led to the collective consideration that the PUP had to be more than a technical partnership that would concentrate on the technical management and infrastructure of SEDAM Huancayo, and had to look at the political and institutional side of things as well. The first step however remained a technical review, which was a good and necessary step to take in the highly politicised situation at the time. But it did not further develop a political leg. It lacked three things: a political outwards strategy to link to the highly politicised governance processes of the water utility (proposed table of concertation, now

One important point discussed at the inception of the PUP was that the PUP should and would include elements of support and organisational development for the local movement and the local union. The logic of this was and remains that local movement, if it is to intervene constructively and over time in the hierarchies of the state and in the complex systems of water governance and management, would need to develop its technical, organisational and strategic capacities. But this approach had conceptual difficulties, as it is difficult to conceive how a PUP would be on the one hand a partnership between utilities while on the other one partner of that PUP would support a specific interest/stakeholder group of the other partner. Conflicts of interests and roles could easily emerge. However, the declaration of intent signed amongst the union and social movements clearly states this intention and it seems a necessary element in order to build a strong and viable interventionist movement in Huancayo.

Nevertheless, the PUP did not develop this element at all as it has focused so far purely on the technical assistance. In the politicised scenario of Huancayo that has resulted in an inadequate strategy and outcome, it seems that the power relations does not allow for a purely technical process without strong political intervention.

### **Strategic need for political spaces**

The political strategy of the local movement in Huancayo has to adjust to the evolving new objectives (from 'stop to privatisation' through 'modernisation without privatisation' to 'PUP'). This involves intervention inside utility management, working towards a favourable political framework in Huancayo supportive of a pro-public reform process, and the establishment of the union and the Front as new types of sustained, constructive and interventionist political actors in urban water management.

This is only possible if the strategy incorporates the creation of new 'political spaces' inside and outside of the utility. For inside of the utility it is a key union task but also the Front must also act from outside to intervene and inscribe a new politics and political form into the organisational matrix of the utility, one that can lead to and be part of a progressive process of organisational change and transformation. Concerning the external, broader political space involving the political structure and civil society of Huancayo, I am thinking about the form of the previously proposed "table of concertation on water services". This was established but not actually implemented fully and it stands to reason that this was one of the key frustrations of the movement during the period of study and the viability of such a strategy needs to be assessed. Here the problem was in part that the Front did not know how to open a broader space of concertation while also strengthening their own internal processes, and how to gain substantive power to act within that table of concertation.

These uncertainties were coupled with a refusal to fully implement the table of concertation by the politicians and civil society actors (church, university, professional associations) who realised the 'dangers' of handing over a political space to the intervention of the movements. The PUP was understood as a tool to generate both the political space within the utility in the form of a partnership process and to enable the movement and the union to take influence via the partnership, since the union and the Front are in coalition with the PUP partner (SOSBA). This however generated similar conceptual problems as mentioned above. And the PUP posed



an extra difficulty as it was intended to inscribe itself into the table of concertation as technical advisor, thus taking on an even more complicated role.

### **Changing roles of the movement actors**

The Front and the union in Huancayo have undergone qualitative shifts: from defensive to propositional strategies and then to an implementation facilitation role. The PUP enactment was the latest of these shifts and opened, as said above, a series of new challenges for the movement. It was possible in the first place however, because the movement was successful in generating self-knowledge about its organisational, strategic and knowledge requirements. For example, the movement discussed at length the strategic need to run the workshop series that led to the basic outline of an alternative proposal. And during the workshops, the active movement participants educated themselves in collective processes, thereby generating a level of knowledge about water management in general, the specific problems and realities of SEDAM, and envisioned principles and elements for a democratised public utility.

This learning process by the movement was crucial for the success of the propositional strategy of the movement. With this knowledge it was possible for the Front to further mobilise its members and generate broader support from civil society actors. While capabilities grew with this learning process, capabilities of the movement organisations to strategically organise and mobilise however did not grow at the same speed. This was due to lack of financial resources but also because local civil society did not allow for further generation of articulation and coalition building across sectors of civil society. FENTAP was to function as a transmission belt from the international and national to the local level and has over the years brought into Huancayo a substantial amount of funding and technical support. However, this support was not sufficient and not sufficiently stable.

### **Summary focusing on politicised participation**

In summary, from the struggle to defend the public system emerged the demand to democratise the municipal utility in a way that equates to what I set out in the conceptual framework as politicised participation for the radical reform of the water sector. Huancayo demonstrated that such a cohesive social movement project requires a vision for political intervention by the social movements in public service provision. It also has to be based on a mobilised, networked form of organisation amongst workers and citizens. To develop the alternative proposal in a technical and political way, the local movement required capacity and

capability and therefore institutional and social support. Because of the relevance for the form of decision-point for a pro-public approach, finding the appropriate policy vehicle was a key task. The PUP that was generated was a promising policy tool for the movements; the presented case also suggests that what is lacking for further implementation is the sustained, effective contestation and participation from the horizontal movement into state hierarchies.

These entire elements figure under the header of politicised participation that conceptualises the movements' aims for a constructive contestation of Huancayo's water governance and management on the basis of disobedient social mobilisation. A necessity, as demonstrated in the case study, is a sustainable and strong organisation, in the form of an institutionalised, but not neutralised, politicised participation and social control of the transformation process and emerging new sector model. What can be determined as a threat for politicised participation is a deficient institutionalisation of empowered agency at the point of the pro-public decision and the progressive policy vehicle.

Overall, politicised participation was only established in informal, ad-hoc forms. This meant that movement politics were strong in agenda setting and preventive, reactionary strategies but could not upscale and maintain its momentum in processes of policy formulation and organisational change of the utility. This is a major part of the reason why the emergence of a new and alternative model in local politics, the media, and the utility itself, on the basis of the alternative proposals of the movement and the technical support of the PUP partner, did not work out. The same establishment of a social control system by which the movement and the public in general could adequately influence and improve the process, has been lacking.

The PUP contract between the utilities did not sufficiently heed the statement of intent of the first agreement between the movement actors and the idea of ABSA to deliver a system of social control to ensure the PUP would work. More concretely, the PUP agreement between the utilities did not involve as actor the local movement, which was then left out of any control. Therefore the PUP was left at the mercy of internal power struggles and municipal politics instead of becoming the central tool for transformation processes controlled by the social movement, as was the initial intention.

### **The pro-public decision point was a weak anchoring point for politicised participation**

Another important if not crucial aspect is the decision-point for the PUP, from which a new path dependency for the utility has to materialise and take its starting point. This certainly did



not happen and the main reason was that the decision to enter the PUP on the side of Huancayo occurred in a specific form. The general manager signed the PUP in order to secure his power position within the utility and against the mayor of Huancayo. However the mayor and the upper management was only superficially in tune, mainly for PR reasons and to smooth out political conflict, and agreed to support the PUP. But then the mayor and the managers did all they could to prevent the PUP from really starting to take hold of the organisation of the utility. In addition, the relation between the general manager and the movement deteriorated and led even to the expulsion of the union secretary (Josefina Gabriel) from her job in the utility.

Thus, the current relations of power are highly detrimental for an effective beginning to a pro-public transformation process involving a constructive intervention by the movements inside and outside the utility and the implementation of the PUP as the driver and support agency of change. The background for this decision-point dilemma and relative weakness of counter-power is on the one hand the strategic inclination of state- and civil society- and water sector-actors, who lean heavily either towards a corrupted, clientelist public system or a private system; and thus pro-public reform is hindered and prevented as much as possible. And on the other hand, there are the presented weaknesses and unmet challenges of the movement sector at the local and national level.

### **Strategic considerations for the local movements**

I have narrated, analysed and discussed how the social movement organisation FREDEAJUN successfully resisted privatisation and, in a participatory bottom-up process, developed an alternative proposal to reform the public utility SEDAM Huancayo S. A. and a public-public-partnership between SEDAM and ABSA. Despite this movement success of the inception of the PUP, the process was demonstrated to be riddled with stalemates, diversions and weaknesses.

In consequence, the success of preventing privatisation and establishing a PUP framework agreement in 2007 has led to unresolved strategic challenges. It is clear that Huancayo poses serious questions and challenges for the Peruvian and the international water justice movements. They need to accomplish their own expectations of being effective actors in the organisational field, powerful enough to generate a viable, equitable and effective public alternative.

It is important to consider that new attempts to privatise SEDAM Huancayo are under way and that the PUP has so far not generated the hoped-for reforms of the corrupt, ineffective, and unsustainable public utility that is under the extra pressure of the structural threat of private sector participation. Overall, the democratisation of the public utility via the PUP remains an unresolved and conflictual process. The primary task of the Front and the union is to find organisational and political answers to enforce and reach full operation of the partnership, despite the strong counter-reaction by local elites, the national government and powerful resistance to change within the utility SEDAM.

**Summary of the key tasks for the movement sector at the end of the study period:**

- Realistically review and evaluate the PUP process so far from the different viewpoints of the involved actors in order to learn from the difficulties and hurdles encountered until now. Document this process and all decisions taken of future planning in order to build organic knowledge so that the organisational history can be shared with other groups that want to build PUPs in Peru and elsewhere. For the May event it seems crucial to undertake this evaluation and start with its results in order to reformulate the PUP and strategise ahead.
- Reinforce the internal process of the movement for the development of a public alternative and link it organically to external support and to the PUP (see problems linked to that explained below).
- Reformulate the tasks and objectives of the PUP in order to widen its scope from technical assistance to assistance in the reform of the institutional setup and change management in the utility, while linking this process clearly to the political situation inside and outside the utility.
- Enable the PUP partner ABSA, or potentially more useful would be SOSBA, to support the local movement in Huancayo.
- More fully integrate FREDEAJUN in the PUP process instead of it being left for the most part in the realms of the union structures.
- Establish a systematic project plan for the PUP with clear and realistic objectives that can adjust to the political realities and needs in Huancayo and with clear responsibilities shared between SOSBA, ABSA, FENTAP, SUTAPAH and FREDEAJUN and international support groups. This would include a system of periodic revision of progress and concertation amongst the groups. Generate short and mid-range objectives and



milestones and assume a best and worst case scenario for the PUP in terms of circumstances, results and impacts.

- Create functioning communication structures between the social groups that push the PUP.

**Summary of the overall objectives in the middle of 2008 for the PUP and the democratisation in Huancayo:**

- Create political momentum with the results of the technical review and recommendations for development that SOSBA/ABSA undertook as first step in the PUP.
- Strengthen the local movement and labour union so that they can develop their organisation, capacity and strategies in order to become sustained, interventionist and effective political actors in local politics and inscribe themselves within the organisational process of the utility (management level) and at the level of governance of the utility (municipal politics, table of concertation, public opinion).
- Adjust the PUP to the political realities of Huancayo and the needs and conditions of the local movements.
- Generate, through political articulation and social movement politics, the political spaces at municipal level (table of concertation) and inside the utility (no means proposed so far- perhaps something like a SEDAM-internal council of social control linked to the PUP?) that the movement requires in order to build counter-power against the mayor and corrupt managers and employees and other interest groups that prevent the PUP/reform process so far. Thereby generating political situation in which the PUP can be fully implemented.
- Build a coalition of support in Huancayo and the region of Junín for the PUP and the pro-public transformation of SEDAM.
- Build a network of support at national and international level of union, social movement, civil society and professional organisations linked to the international water justice movement.

## **7.5. Typology theory development**

In order to conceptualise the political process at national and local level, I further analyse the case study by the use of typology theory development as set out in Chapters 4.4 and 6. This section has three parts that move the case analysis further into the abstract analysis of meso-level typology theory. I start with a summary of the findings that I develop through a listing of the contingent generalisations that I draw from the analysis in the previous sub-Chapters 7.3 and 7.4.

### **Summary of findings expressed in contingent generalisations**

- Politicisation of urban WATSAN is the necessary basis on which citizens and workers can intervene in management and governance.
- Defence to privatisation can generate social mobilisation and organisation in different social sectors.
- Resistance culture can develop into culture of politicised participation, which means social emancipation through a culture of horizontal articulation of social forces.
- For movement structures to become a locus for struggle beyond defence they require political vision, leadership, organisational resources, political opportunities, capability and capacity across space and time.
- Sustained commitment to engage in water policy and management requires movement resources, organisation and capacity and a vision in this regard.
- Struggles, in order to impact on sector structures constructively and substantially over time, transform resistance from defensive strategy to appropriation.
- Movement organisations lack technical and political knowledge and capacity to intervene constructively unless they strategically develop them.
- Collective mobilisation and organisation are central to developing a popular alternative proposal, expert support is necessary, as is articulation between workers, unions, NGOs, social movement organisations (SMOs), organised civil society organisations, and the media.
- It is possible to start a democratisation process despite state inclination to privatise but the process of implementation is a political process with many factors and actors that can prevent, stall and misuse the process.
- International solidarity is conducive and important but has difficulties reaching local levels effectively.



- Preventing a privatisation and delivering a pro-public reform decision is always a partial and contingent success, and as such is just the beginning of the appropriation process.
- PUP is a political and technical tool with which a movement can gain recognition and inscribe itself into local politics and utility management.
- PUP can be a tool to enable and deliver an already existing popular alternative, but for that to happen these processes need to interact constructively.
- The PUP was created with too much of a technical-managerial angle and did not look at institutional restructuring with due emphasis.
- For the political project of democratisation of WATSAN and the counter-hegemonic relations to be anchored in the organisations of the sector, the forms of intervention, in this case a PUP, require an institutional-political angle in addition to the technical-managerial.
- Movement-led radical transformations of utilities require a formalised movement-based, public-citizen-based social control and participation system, so that processes do remain dependent on flawed political state structures.
- If the counter-hegemonic project cannot be stabilised within the local political conjuncture, society and the local organisational field, then decisions in favour of pro-public reform cannot be implemented.
- Barriers to change remain the same in movement-led transformations as in the other public models (corruption, mismanagement, lack of transparency, internal barriers to change in organisations).
- A PUP has to develop sufficient or adequate political space inside the organisation of the utility at the same time as to develop answers to the managerial and institutional problems.
- A PUP needs to build a coherent relation with the collective work done by local social movements if it is to function alongside ongoing, relevant and mobilised social movementisation of water politics.

### **Generalised pathway**

I now turn to the design of a generalised pathway that I develop in correlation with the core concepts of the typology matrix that I developed in Chapter 6.

The pathway adds new aspects, elements and concepts that I have developed on the basis of the case study analysis. The pathway is divided by a colour scheme into primary codes, which

are similar to the primary codes of the matrix but do not correspond entirely. The matrix divides and distinguishes more conceptually than in terms of time flow and thereby can capture other nuances of the analysis. The pathways express in a temporal fashion the flow of events along the lines of these primary codes, which are the *context*, *opposition*, *pro-public challenge*, a broad category with which I aim to capture the process whereby movements shift from defensive to appropriation strategies, *crystallisation* (of reform), which takes account of the process of reconfiguration of alternative policies or project after a decision in their favour was taken, and *alternative restructuring*. Thereby, the pathways achieve two things. They tightly fit the data of the case study and correlate with the typology theory that was developed in an inductive-deductive comparative analysis. The pathways at local and national level are therefore very similar in general structure and differ in the way that the national case study and the embedded case study exposed different political processes.

The two pathways highlight important aspects in the respective observations. For example, the national chart (Diagram 5) includes the concept of *framing the alternative*. This category does not occur in the pathway of the local case. This is not to say that the discursive process that formulates and frames the alternative at local level did not happen. What it means merely is that the key processes in the local process were found to be positioned after the framing of the proposal. In this specific case, the framing of the alternative in Huancayo was largely build on the movement frame derived from the national processes. That is why this pathway step was not included in the local generalised pathway.

The lower halves of the pathways differ considerably because the processes and results at national and local level differ profoundly. With the simplification and conceptualisation of the pathways such differences can be exposed and it can be demonstrated where the differences start and where they lead. In the case of these two pathways, the key point of difference lies in the 'political space' and 'decision point'. At national level neither a movement-oriented political space exists nor is there a pro-public decision point. In contrast, at local level there are two different decision points: One when the PSP project was cancelled and another when the pro-public decision, in the form of the PUP contract between SEDAM and ABSA, took place. The local diagram (Diagram 6) then shows how this *pro-public decision point* has led to what I call a *fuzzy moment*. By this I mean the moment of reconfiguration of relations of power, positionalities of actors in the field, the reshuffling of alliance systems and discourses on the basis of and in reaction to the pro-public decision, in this case by the management of the



utility. This leads to a point in the process where the movement and the local government agree on establishing the concertation table, thus the pathway shows the marker *political space post-pro-public decision*.

From there, the process led to renewed efforts of *movement development* but also to what I call a *reconfiguration of the pro-public decision*. What I mean by that is that the actor coalitions in the local organisation field, also under the influence of external national actors such as the government and Proinversión, re-interpret the decision and use all the possible scope of interpretation in order to change the effects of the decision to their advantage. This also includes that actors try to prevent, stall and undo the decision reached at the decision point, even if they found themselves in support of it at the time of the decision or during the period of the fuzzy moment. One such actor is the departmental municipal government of Huancayo who was forced by mobilisations and the tandem pressure of the management and the movement to support the PUP at its inception. During the fuzzy moment it changed its opinion and ended up reconfiguring the decision in a way that rendered the decision without effect, basically by disregarding the political agreement the mayor Arana had himself announced, and negating the advances and stalling the next steps in the PUP process.

This then required the movement to reconsider its strategies, which at the end of the study period was again confrontational towards the local government and also towards the management. The result is a *blocking of reform* and thus only very limited *sector changes*, as discussed in the narrative and analysis in this chapter. This means that the national pathway crux is that no *decision point* is reached in the political process at national level, neither a no-private nor a clear reformulation of the PSP policy and clearly no *pro-public decision point*. This leaves the strategic field open to a myriad of possible reactions both by government and the movement sector. This scenario is what the movement sector considers as the adjustment of *strategy post pro-public decision*. Apart from these significant down-the-pipe differences in these case-specific generalised pathways, the starting elements of the pathways are the same. They stem from the common typology that informed these pathways.



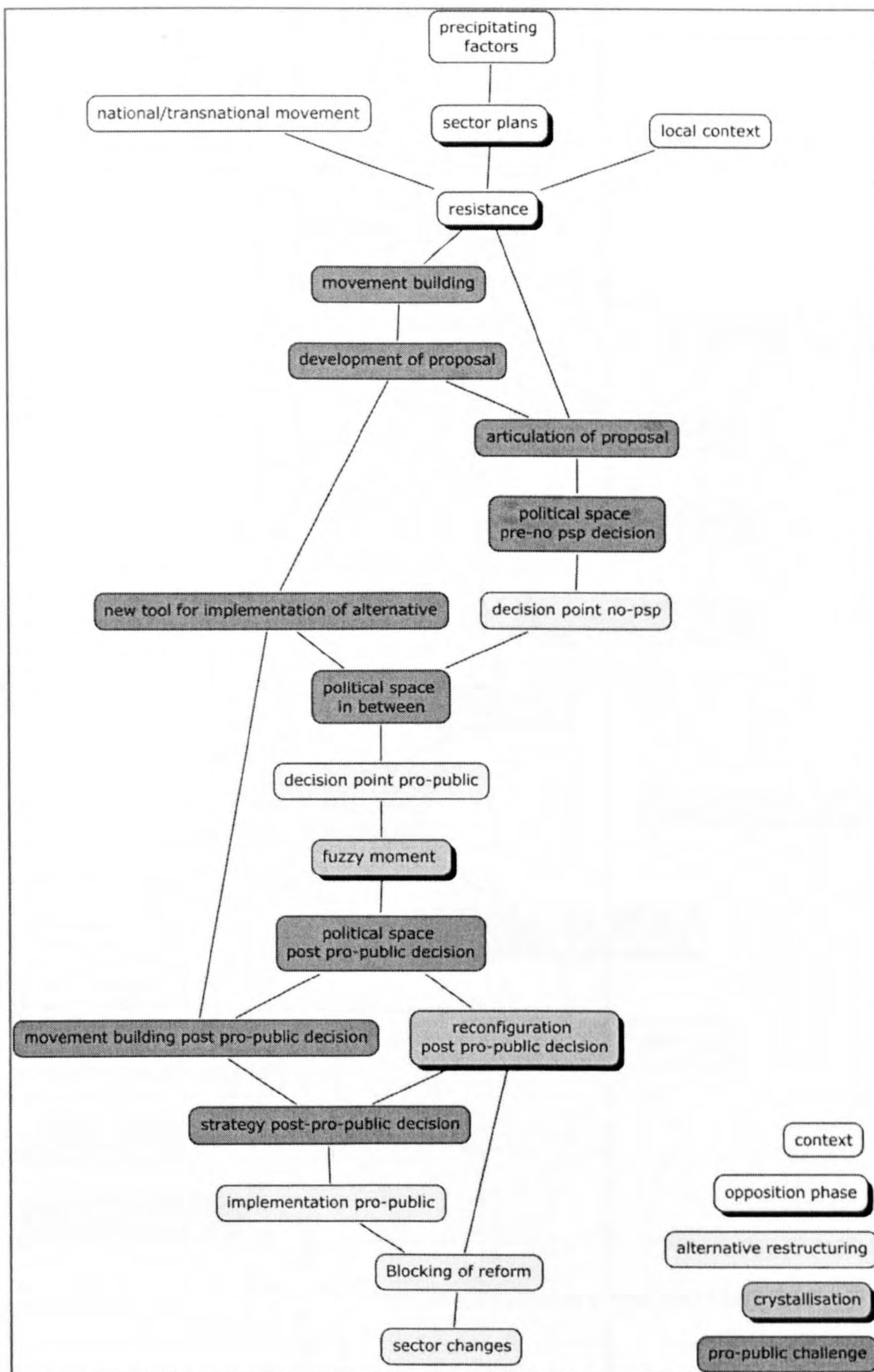


Diagram 5 Case-specific general pathway Huancayo



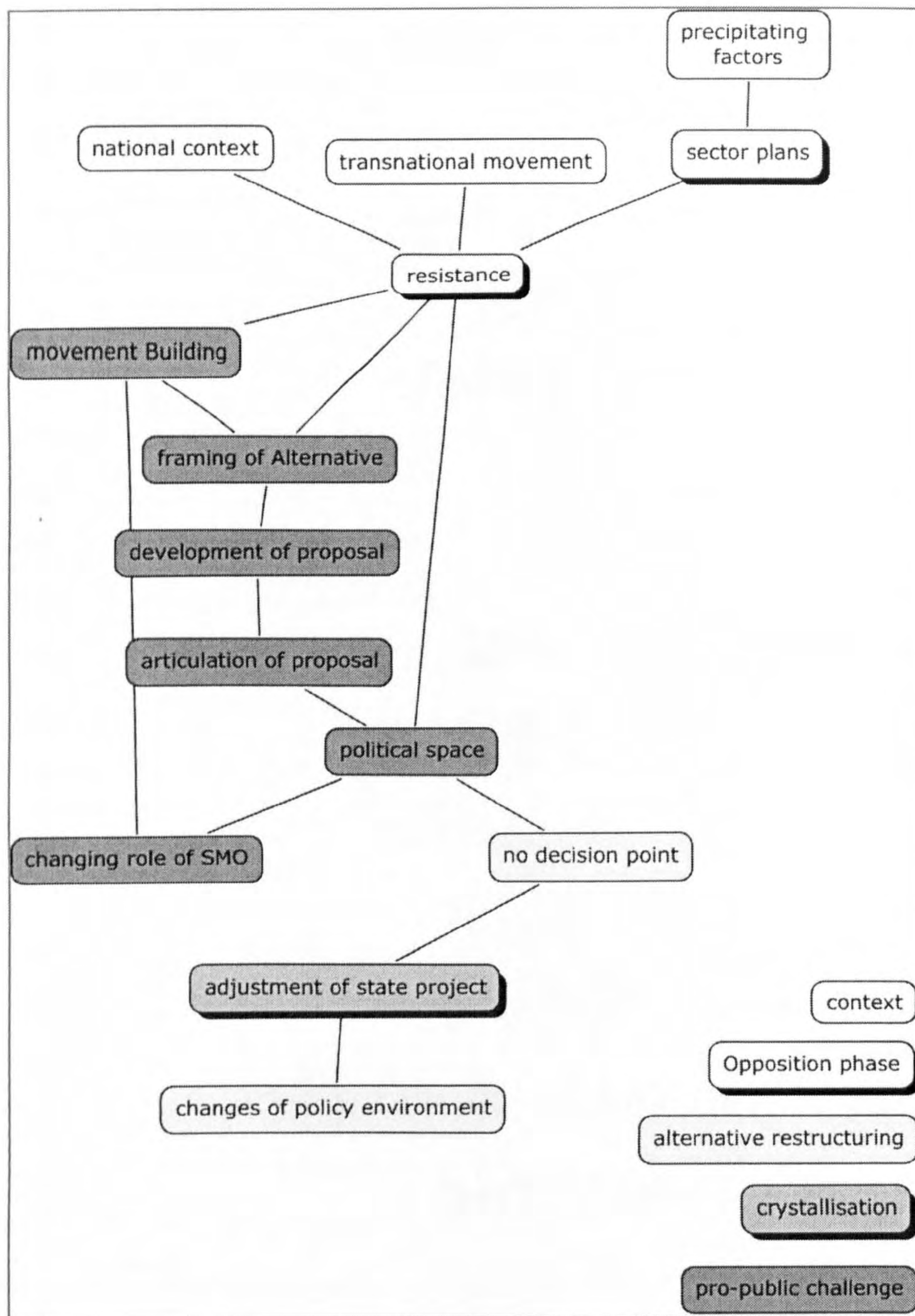


Diagram 6 Case-specific general pathway Peru

## Matrix analysis

In tandem with these two pathways, I develop in a next step of theory building the following case specific matrix. Just as the pathways, the matrix is divided into a local and a national part and employs the same primary categories of the core matrix of the typology theory (Chapter 7). On that basis however it modifies, re-arranges and adds secondary categories on the basis of the data analysed.



Temporal phases/ primary categories	background and context		resistance to neoliberal restructuring			challenge of pro-public			alternative proposal			
Secondary categories  national	national WATSAN sector	international water movements	precipitating factors	sector planning and reform	resistance	movement building	strategy	political space	framing in general	transnational civil society	changing role of SMOs	development of proposal framing form and content of proposal articulation of proposal
		POS			movement type							
Secondary categories  local	Local urban water system	national conjuncture of movement politics	precipitating factors	local PSP reform plan and process	resistance	movement building	political spaces at different decision points	Strategy of implementation post decision	development of proposal	framing	form and content of proposal	movement . generated tools
	pos					movement type	changing role of SMOs					qualitative shift of the movement



Resulting (alternative) restructuring				Crystallisation of pro-public path			Power and state-society relations		
Temporal phases / primary categories	no decision point anti-PSP	no implementation but adjustments to state project	sector changes	Changes in governance environment	Movement development as result of challenge	Movement impact	Politicised participation	Representation	
Local	Decision-point no-PSP	Implementation	Key problems of restructuring	Fuzzy moment post no-PSP decision and stalemate	Strategy to impose public path	Dilution or blocking of reform	Politicised participation	Representation	
				Pro-public debate	Immediate reconfiguration post pro-public decision				<u>Political</u> <u>space</u> <u>post</u> <u>pro-public</u> <u>decision</u>
	Decision point pro-public	Weaknesses-critical factors of movement actors	Sector changes		<u>Movement</u> <u>development</u> <u>as</u> <u>result</u> <u>of</u> <u>challenge</u>	Take over and hindrance by elites			

Table 4 Case-specific matrix Peru and Huancayo



The new elements in this case matrix are highlighted by underlining. The significant new categories found in this case matrix are the strategy and the decision point, divided into anti-privatisation and pro-public decision point. Political space was also modified to also address a scenario of post-pro-public decision. The categories of changing roles, movement development and qualitative shift refer to the discursive, organisational and strategic development of the movement organisations. The latter turned into important categories in the case study analysis because I found that these elements were most crucial for movement impact in terms of appropriation struggles.

In Chapter 8, these insights will be combined with the findings of the case study on Uruguay in order to build a final analytical scheme of matrix, generalised pathway and contingent generalisations.

## **7.6. Case study conclusions**

At a national level, the movement sector in Peru has effectively stalled the national PSP program that is set out in the National Sanitation Plan of 2005 to 2015 (Ministry for Housing, Construction and Sanitation, 24.03.2006). Despite this reactionary substantial impact, a significant shift away from water neoliberalism in Peru will require a more constructive movement project that can effectively address the deterioration and dysfunction of the public sector. Such a counter-hegemonic project would need to be powerful enough to destabilise and break the hegemonic relations in the water sector in Peru. But changing societal relations power will not be enough, given the structural inclination towards PSP as embodied by Proinversión. An effective pro-public challenge will need to not only change state power but inscribe itself into the state's institutional structure and forms of intervention.

The local water struggle in Huancayo presents a counter-hegemonic project at the municipal level and is embedded in the national water movement sector in Peru. This case study has demonstrated how politics of antagonism politicise water governance and management in a way that allows movements to move from resistance towards a local pro-public challenge. The qualitative shift in Huancayo happened in the year 2006, when the Front expanded its remit of action to collective learning and development and articulation of an alternative development proposal for the local utility. The pro-public challenge in Huancayo included the bottom-up development of a proposal and the attempt by the movement to create a political space for the alternative. At the end of the period under study, the movement was able to reach substantive, reactive impact but the full implementation of the alternative in the form of a PUP



with ABSA was stalled. Nevertheless, the movement has built its own alternative frame around the discourses of alternatives, democratisation and PUPs. It affected the behaviour of state authorities in such decisive ways as to change the path of development of the local water sector.

The detailed analysis of typology theory in this chapter has generated new insights on elements such as decision point, movement organisation and political space. Expert knowledge of the movement about the organisational field of urban WATSAN was shown to have special importance. In Huancayo, expert-knowledge by the movement was developed through strategic collective learning processes within the movement organisation of the Front, demonstrating how social movements against water privatisation can turn into pro-public challenges, seeking the appropriation of public water systems. The different factors that affect the politicised participation during the implementation of alternative projects were discussed. One of these factors was the resistance to change in the Peruvian state, the local municipalities and the water utility. They have so far resisted movement-induced reform proposals and remain strategically selective towards privatisation.

The social movements inscribe themselves into the materiality of the state, creating new forms of state-society relations, for example by a new political space called table of concertation. The movements create new apparatuses, new forms of interventions and new ways of movement participation that were discussed as a politicised form of participation, created at the level of policy formulation, the municipal concertation space and the PUP as a utility reform project. This was possible because of an organisational and strategic qualitative shift by the movement in regards to its organisation, knowledge, forms of articulation, political strategies and discourse formation.

While the PUP is at best a partial success for the Peruvian water movements, it has contributed to the stalling of PSP at national level, where the water privatisation project can by no means be called stabilised. Instead, the counter-hegemonic project of the movement has also at national level successfully delegitimised and challenged this orthodoxy.

## **8. Data and Analysis IV: Case Study on Uruguay**

*This case study chapter sets out the case of Uruguay in the same order as Chapter 7. After an introduction, the chapter develops a detailed narrative account of the case, structured along the different elements of the conceptual framework. Section 8.3 discusses the discourse, outcomes and impact of the water movements. It moves on to a review of the findings. The chapter then generates theoretical and conceptual results in section 8.5 in form of a case-specific pathway, matrix and contingent generalisations.*

### **8.1.Introduction**

#### **Introductory overview**

In the year 2004, the 'National Commission for the Defence of Water and Life' (CNDAV) (below called the Commission) successfully won a national referendum on water privatisation and the human right to water (Grosse et al., 2006). Uruguay is one of the few countries that have codified the human right to water in their constitutions (Smets 2006). The Uruguayan water movements thereby anchored the prohibition of all forms of privatisation and the human right to water as fundamental principles in the constitution of the state of Uruguay. According to commentators, it was a landmark alteration in the constitutional framework of Uruguay (Hall and Lobina, 2004; Pierri, 2004; Tasks, 2008).

The case study analyses how this constitutional change started a transformation process that has changed social relations of force and impacted on policy formulation, the materiality of the state and therefore the path of development of water management. It also affected the movements themselves. The state apparatuses of the water sector have evolved into a national directorate (DINASA) that incorporates a commission for citizen participation (COASAS). The latter gives citizen participation a formalised institutional expression. In addition, management restructuring and policy changes have been implemented in the utility OSE (Obras Sanitarias del Estado), through formalised and informal forms of participation by the movement sector and also new bureaucratic and programmatic means within the organisation of the utility. Overall, a fundamental change of mindset has set in. Substantial and discursive changes have occurred since the referendum but the analysis will also show that they also embody political conflicts, dislocations and distortions. The social movement project of CNDAV was instrumental in transforming the organisational field but effective political



control was maintained by the new political project of the new left government, which controls state power.

### **Methodological considerations and focus of the case study**

The case study mainly considers the time period after the constitutional reform (2004 to 2006) in order to review and analyse the political, social and institutional process of implementation of the constitutional reform. In this regard, it coincides with the anthropological study of Santos and Iglesias, who propose to analyse the process of CNDAV in three moments, the emergence of the Commission to the handing in of signatures as the first step of the referendum, the campaign from the signature hand-in to the actual referendum, and thirdly the referendum victory to today (Santos and Iglesias, 2006, 45). This division of phases of the struggle in Uruguay can also be converted into the framework of the process of struggle that I build in the analysis. I describe phases of movement building, decision point, and movement-related implementation. This implies that while focusing on the post-referendum implementation, the case study moves between these three periods fluidly in order to draw out the organisational and strategic continuities.

Primarily, the case study will consider in detail the water movements' discursive, organisational and strategic processes before and in the aftermath of the successful referendum. This in in order to study the way in which water movements have met the objectives and hopes they set themselves in the struggle for the social appropriation of water services. The case study will also review the emergence of the Commission and the emergence of the proposal and strategy for the referendum because these elements are crucial for an understanding of the movement's impact on the water sector. What will not be covered at length is the actual referendum campaign, which figures as the second period in Santos and Iglesias periodisation (Santos and Iglesias, 2006, p.45).

So the case study does not look in detail into the campaign strategy towards the referendum because these elements have been already analysed at length (Santos and Villareal, 2005; Tasks, 2008; Santos and Iglesias, 2006; Santos and Valdomir, 2005; Grosse et al., 2006). The contribution to knowledge of this case study lies in the historic-concrete perspective on the mechanisms and processes in the movement sector and the organisational field in regards to the implementation process after the referendum.

## **The structure of the chapter**

The chapter begins with an explanatory narrative of the Uruguayan water movement and the organisational field of the Uruguayan water sector. After having established the general case narrative, I analyse the case in relation to the findings on the global water movements' discourse and synthesise the outcomes and movement impacts. Then, I discuss these findings in conceptual and also in strategic terms, by which I also develop recommendations for the movement actors. A last section of the chapter, likewise to Chapter 7, seeks to advance the typology-theoretical development.

## **8.2.The case narrative**

### **Background and context**

The Republic of Uruguay is a representative democracy. It has 19 territorial departments and is the fourth smallest country in South America, with around 3.3 million inhabitants. Urbanisation is at a high 91.9%. The country is counted as one of the more developed and richer nations of South America. Politically, it is considered a liberal democracy since 1985 (Smith and Ziegler, 2008). It saw a political sea change with the election of a left coalition government for the first time ever in 2004. This occurred at the same time as the successful referendum on water. The Uruguayan constitution includes an element of direct democracy through the instrument of national referenda. This right has been used various times successfully in recent history and was also employed in the year 2004 by CNDAV.

### ***The water sector in Uruguay***

The Uruguayan water services sector is composed primarily of the publicly owned and directly managed 'State Operator of Water Services' (OSE). In addition there are a dozen very small cooperative and self-help systems in rural and semi-urban areas spread around the country that belong to the informal economy. While the Uruguayan water sector does not have a problem to reach the MDGs, there remain structural deficits and challenges, especially in leakage and wastewater collection and treatment. The overall access rate for water services of the state utility OSE was at 93.9% in 2006 and sewage connections at around 78% (OSE 2008). The urban – rural divide is not so large in water but significant in sewerage connections and treatment of collected sewerage. The latter was at a low 37.7% in 2006. Non-revenue water is at 54% of total water production. Since 2002, water coverage reduced by 3% while sanitation improved by almost 10 %, non-revenue water increased by 2% and labour efficiency was



increased with the number of workers per 1000 water connections reduced to 4.16 in 2006 from 5.37 in 2002 (OSE, 2008; Santos and Valdomir, 2006). The key challenges of OSE lie in waste water, operational efficiency and management improvement. Increasingly also there is the issue of the sustainability of water resource management.

OSE is understood to be a company that has not been successfully reformed by previous governments and therefore suffers from clientelism and corruption and inertia of change. In addition, the pressures of outsourcing and privatisation led to a stalemate in debates on utility reform in the years prior to the successful referendum. Indeed, at the point that the Broad Front took power and thus political control over OSE, the state company was in a critical situation. This was marked by systematic disorganisation, lack of finance, and poor service quality, a 70% payment deficit in 2004 and a right-wing dominance in the internal power structures of the company with networks of clientelism and corruption (Marquisio, 31.05.2006; Colacce, 06.06.2006). This internal power constellation was primarily based on the political allegiances within the utility staff to political parties that previously had political control over the utility.

At the time of the referendum in 2004, there were also three private concessions, two involving transnational corporations. These were the concessions of Aguas de la Costa, URUGUA, while the third one was the company of Aguas del Pinar. These three concessions were a result of a political process that started with a law in 1992 that proposed the privatisation of all public services. This was met with a movement response popularly referred to as the patrimony movement, which stopped the full privatisation attempt but resulted in a partial opening of the water sector in the form of cherry picking of some concession areas and increased outsourcing of core parts of OSE's operation. As will be discussed below, at the end of the case study period, only one of these three concessions remained functional and also that last concession not longer include international capital involvement anymore.

## **Resistance and pro-public challenge**

### ***The water movement sector***

#### **The members of CNDAV**

CNDAV is understood as an environmental social movement that incorporates new social forms of strategies, organisation and reflexivity (Santos and Iglesias, 2006). In Chapter 3, I have considered these elements as characteristic of new social movements and I find agreement

with this viewpoint in the analysis of Santos and Iglesias (2006) in regards to CNDAV. CNDAV is composed of a set of organisations that have territorial, social and union backgrounds. Movement members confirm that the Commission is a broad alliance across the spectrum of environmental NGOs, the trade union in the water sector, sector and academic professionals, and some public officials (Patrone, 07.06.2006). The core and founding organisations of the Commission around the time of the referendum campaign were the “Comisión en Defensa del Agua y el Saneamiento de la Costa de Oro y Pando” (CDASCOP), a water user and citizen organisation from Montevideo, the “Federación de Funcionarios de las Obras Sanitarias del Estado” (FFOSE), the trade union of the national utility, the “Liga de Fomento de Manantiales” (LFM), a neighbourhood organisation from an area where water services were privatised, and the NGO ‘Red de Ecología Social – Amigos de la Tierra’ (REDES-AT), the local chapter of Friends of the Earth (Santos and Iglesias, 2006, p.45).

In the field research, I found that the core organisations that were mainly active in 2006 in CNDAV were FFOSE and REDES. In addition there were some academics and other advisors of CNDAV. Also some neighbourhood committees in Montevideo remained active in the Commission. The core members of the Commission have fertilised and inspired each other across social sectors with the consequence of the integration of perspectives of labour, citizen-users and environmental issues.

The movement organisation was profoundly influenced by the leaders of the sector union FFOSE whose progressive leadership and self-perception were important driving forces. The union FFOSE is a union federation of regional divisions. It has undergone qualitative changes that since 2001 and 2002 have fundamentally transformed the style of unionism of FFOSE. Internal elections exchanged the leadership of the union and during the referendum campaign a majority of OSE members participated in the struggle and thereby spread it around the country. Unionisation levels in OSE are high and through the union processes, workers have expanded the traditional view on the protection of workers’ right to a vision of “care for their public company”, “impetus to improve public management” and “care for the water source to protect the company” (Marquisio, 31.05.2006). Such a reflexive identity of union activists marks a profound sense of belonging and responsibility. They refer to themselves as “water carriers” (Selva, 06.06.2006).

This identity of the union developed through an arduous internal process of education, reflection and debate about the “difficulties and meaning of water and privatisation. This



internal process was very difficult for the union to absorb and for the leadership to assume. And there were sectors that did not like the campaign” (Rosa, 07.06.2006). According to movement members, it was difficult to get the key civil society theme of public goods onto the agenda of organised civil society and across to the public.

In terms of diffusion of discourses and forms of organisation in the Americas, it is noteworthy that already with the Commission’s name, but also in discourse and organisational style, the Uruguayan water movements have learned from and taken inspiration from the Bolivian water movements, especially from Cochabamba (Marquisio, 31.05.2006).

### **CNDAV: a sustained and qualitatively shifting body**

The Commission is a new social movement phenomenon in Uruguay. Typically, social movement commissions are temporal and without long-term formalisation in Uruguay. They would dissolve after the periods of mobilisations. This was different with CNDAV, which sustained its existence and remained an active agent in the organisational field, also with access to policy making beyond the decision point of the referendum. Key factors for this development were the overall consolidation of the Commission and the specific strategic perspective of water movements to work inside state hierarchies on a sustained basis. The water movement sector presents a specific development and learning progress in the social movements that has signified a shift away from former ways of political organisation and strategising of the 1990s.

Carlos Sossa argued that “CNDAV is the articulation instrument that can move forward the process to establish a real water policy that concretises what was implanted in the institutional reform” (Sossa, 30.05.2006). The same union member suggested that the special experience of CNDAV was due to the success in communicating the need for public water despite bad service quality in the public sector and problems in union organising. This was possible because of previous public debates about public goods and because of the organisational style of horizontality that joined diverse groups and could articulate well into society.

Interviewed movement members have repeatedly pointed out the unplanned and even involuntary qualitative shift of the Commission from a referendum campaign tool to a social control instance of implementation. The movement “was forced to self-educate with academic support and linked to inputs from society” (Marquisio, 31.05.2006). The form of organisation, the discursive development and articulation are novel and crucial elements in the water

struggle of Uruguay. The horizontal coalition as form of organisation created a movement-based space for debate and alliance building. The key strategic consideration here is that the successful referendum has lead the social movement alliances to become guardians of the implementation and also to think of themselves as having to watch over and participate in designing further implementation. This I consider as the crux of the change process by the social sphere.

A word of caution however needs to be issued on the question of sustaining the Commission's vitality and power to act, as its mere existence does not necessarily also imply that CNDAV has fulfilled its strategic objectives beyond the referendum. After having addressed the implementation process in more detail, I will analyse, in the appraisal, if and how these collective actors have created and maintained a level of organisation and articulation and were able to develop the expertise to creatively and effectively intervene in the long term process of implementation.

### ***Proposal development and strategy***

#### **A pro-private context**

The political background in 2004, a period of political change in Uruguay, was shaped by politics of privatisation that started in the 1990s. As mentioned above, since 1992 there was a push to privatise all public sectors in Uruguay. While full sector liberalisation and privatisation did not occur, the anti-privatisation movements at the time did not create sufficient countervailing power to prevent the concession processes of in the province of Maldonado. It was in this context that the second half of the 1990s can be described as a period of consolidation and clarification for the union and civil society. The social actors formed collective stances against the corporate vision and sector-based interest seeking that was understood to be embodied in the privatisation policy. But the concessions of Aguas de la Costa and URAGUA were not challenged significantly when they were executed. Only after the turn of the millennium were the hegemonic discourses and typical arguments for privatisation (bad public sector performance, workers' incapacity and state malfunction) effectively challenged. In addition, a counter-discourse was slowly developed by the emerging movement sector that incorporated the fallacies of privatisation and the potentials of a pro-public sector reform path.



## **The birth of a counter-strategy**

The decisive moment for the development of the movement sector occurred in the city of La Cuidad de la Costa. From 2000 onwards, in the city of La Cuidad de la Costa saw a local defensive campaign. This marked the initial moment in the emancipatory process that led to the creation of CNDAV and finally the national referendum. It was in this local struggle that the movement sector set its origins of organisational form, strategy and discourse. The background and precipitating factors to this development were the policies of sector liberalisation that were pursued by the government from the early 1990s, the first privatisation projects in 1992 in parts of the department of Maldonado and in 2000 of the city of La Ciudad de la Costa and the civil response to the resulting threats of outsourcing and privatisation (Achkar, 2008; Sossa, 31.05.2006). Adriana Marquisio (Marquisio, 31.05.2006) explains that the first localised water commission was created in La ciudad de la Costa de Oro y Pando in the year 2000, in order to contest a non-viable and unsustainable engineering project in the area of waste water treatment.

The early development of the movement sector in Uruguay started with a social contestation on technical and public administration issues. The local public administration tried to implement an expensive and environmentally damaging sewage project that involved disposing of sewage through a sub-aquatic pipeline into the sea. This project was linked to privatisation and outsourcing schemes for the local OSE branch. In October 2000, the Commission for the Defence of Water and Sanitation of the City of la Costa de Oro y Pando (CDASCOP) was created and joined more than 40 organisations (Santos and Iglesias, 2006).

## **The local starting point for a national referendum**

The movement processes from 2000 to 2004 entailed public debates with workshops and international exchanges. In the course of the political contestation, a technical sub-commission of the local commission developed an alternative proposal for the sewerage project, which was socialised and agreed upon by the social organisations and then employed for political incidence in the local political struggle. The government's proposal was considered in public debate as too expensive and environmentally damaging and in consequence leading to privatisation. In the end the proposal by the local commission was widely considered technically and economically more suitable and was accepted by policymakers. Therewith also the underlying project of privatisation of the regional union of OSE was stopped as well.

Given the general policy tendency of privatisation at the time, the local movement did not stop there but indeed formed the foundations for the national referendum. In fact, a single citizen in a plenary of the local commission one day stood up and put forward the idea to change the national constitution with the aim to “establish water a fundamental human right that cannot be privatised and assure that it can never be privatised in the future” (Marquisio, 31.05.2006). Then, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July 2001, the plenary of the commission voted to promote such a constitutional reform campaign. CDASCOP sought dialogue with FFOSE (Achkar, 2008) and started to articulate with the actors that later came to form CNDAV. It thereby strategically reacted to the threat of the IMF-sponsored privatisation policy of metropolitan areas of Uruguay (Grosse, et al., 2004). Indeed, the central objectives were identified as access to water as human right, denouncing transnational companies, resisting privatisation policy and reverting the privatisations in the province of Maldonado. Also the movement aimed at diffusing water debates at national policy agenda (Achkar, 2008).

This politicisation led to increased permeation of the social movements into the centralised water utility, mostly in the form of workers’ politicisation through the union. It also gave rise to the movement project of constitutional reform, on the basis of a new and emancipatory public water discourse and the Commission’s form of organisation. The precursor of the local commission in La Costa and its contestation of an engineering project therefore can be considered as the starting points for the current conjuncture of politicisation of water policy.

This struggle was up-scaled through the nation-wide union structures and was consolidated in the creation of CNDAV in April 2002. In February of 2003, the Broad Front, still in opposition, joined the Commission. Earlier, in a key document of the 8th of July 2002, CNDAV spelled out the major lines of its discourse and strategy. This included the human right to water, the ecological dimension of water, the importance of social participation and the protection of state-public management of water and sanitation services. It also referred to the World Social Forums and declared that CNDAV was to give impulses to a constitutional reform through a popular referendum (Santos and Iglesias, 2006).

At the time, CNDAV turned into a powerful platform. The union was the “central vertebra” (Sossa, 30.05.2006) of the national Commission and its national network of local offices the backbone of the structures in the different regions. During the height of mobilisation, there were regional and local organisational structures in place and membership grew to include political parties, unions and SMOs. It was a horizontal organisation articulated common



strategies. Its members came from across the left political spectrum and its leadership, even though dependent on a few key charismatic figures, was horizontal. Interestingly, there were only women in the coordination team.

## **Articulating the alternative proposal**

### ***The referendum as political strategy***

The referendum campaign, which in the movement phases proposed above represents the middle stage, took place from 2002 to October 2004. During this campaign period until the actual referendum, CNDAV was not legally officialised in order to protect it from interest seeking, which had debilitated the work of its local precursor in earlier years. The campaign in the city of La Cuidad de la Costa and also the referendum campaign were characterised by a limited number and lower level of militancy of protest events. There were marches, mobilisations and so on, however these remained all on the symbolic side of street politics and did not rally a mass movement into the streets. There were symbolic actions like one where the movement publically gave itself the task of recuperating the Maldonado privatisations but mass mobilisations were at no point a form of expression for CNDAV. The objective was more to enter into confrontations with pro-private stances on a discursive level and in the media and thereby to embed the political and social debate on water in the conjuncture of political change at the time. These were the first steps in a broad strategy of counter-hegemonic struggle.

The starting point of this can be considered as the hegemonisation of the reform proposal within the movement organisations. On that basis, the articulation of the reform with other sectors of Uruguayan society was a key task of the movement. This was particularly difficult since OSE was widely held as inefficient state bureaucracy. But key stakeholder groups were brought on board, even if late during the campaign, as was the case with the organised group of rice farmers who only engaged in the campaign in the last month before the referendum and prior to that had unsuccessfully tried to amend the reform proposal in order to better suit their interests.

### **Technical staff of OSE form part of the movement**

An important but little discussed element of the Commission has been the “Unidad Técnica de Apoyo” (UTEA). It was an autonomous subgroup of the Commission composed of professionals, managers and technical staff from within OSE. Another reading suggests that the

people in UTEA were a group of members of the Broad Front who formulated a counter-project within the organisation of OSE and aligned that to CNDAV. UTEA worked in informal ways within OSE and as part of the Commission. The purpose was to develop improvement plans for OSE that could be used for political articulation during the campaign and could serve as blue prints for management change afterwards. Its members were comprised different parties of left coalition and mostly had academic and professional backgrounds. Workers were not involved to a meaningful extent, which with hindsight is considered a weakness of UTEA (Casa, 07.06.2006).

There were and remain differences between UTEA and FFOSE, as UTEA members argue that FFOSE should not be part of UTEA. In addition, there have been differences of opinion between FFOSE and UTEA, even though both collaborated closely during the campaign. After the referendum, there has been a clear division of tasks where UTEA works on OSE issues, as does FFOSE, while CNDAV as national commission focuses on other issues such as governance reform and resource management.

#### **Academic support for the movement**

During the campaign, CNDAVD organisers ran about 150 participatory workshops across the country in a strategy to 'teach the teachers' and thereby spread and multiply movement capacity and knowledge across the country. The method applied in these workshops was to link the national referendum with the concrete realities in peoples' local water systems. For example, local water assessment workshops were held and related local findings to implications of privatisation and the proposed constitutional reform. In addition, CNDAV sought out the 'Commission of Consultative Society' of the University of Montevideo and requested technical support for the constitutional reform campaign. Turning CNDAV down, the mostly liberal academics and professionals, who were also more aligned to the then ruling parties of the right, refused support for CNDAV with the argument that it was a political task that did not correspond to this commission.

Nevertheless, academic support was a crucial element for CNDAV and has come especially from members of the science department of the university. So when the referendum was finally held in October 2004, CNDAV functioned as horizontal movement space and transmission belt for the pro-public demands. The movement expressions were not so much based on street protests but on a public education strategy. The result of this was a broad and



consolidated agreement in the social sphere that water services should remain public services under the control and ownership of the state.

### **Developing an alternative proposal**

An important element of the counter-hegemonic movement project, apart from its general frame, its articulation and diffusion in (political) society and its anchoring within the utility, was the technical development of the proposal for the referendum. This refers to the drafting process of the new constitutional paragraphs. It was done mainly by a special sub-committee of the Commission that was supported by a number of resource people and was led by two professional lawyers. Indeed, it was these two lawyers who investigated the options for constitutional reform and proposed a legal mechanism for the referendum. The political decision then was taken in the plenaries of CNDAV. It was a time-consuming and iterative process, where ideas and demands from the movement members and the expert input from the working group alternated and were put together. Only after many months of drafting and consensus building within CNDAV was the constitutional reform proposal presented to the public.

One factor in the proposal development and the effective counter-hegemonisation of the constitutional reform was access to information. For that reason, CNDAV ran a public campaign on improving access to information and transparency in the water sector. Movement debates about the reform involved questions about water governance, participation and the role of the state, democratisation and the role of citizen-users, state control and social control and respective impacts on the public firm, and also models of utility management, autonomy and participation in public management. The resulting constitutional reform proposal included five major themes (Achkar, 2008):

- Access to water as a human right
- Establish principles of a national policy of water
- Public domain of water
- Water and sanitation services exclusively and directly delivered by public-state legal entities
- Participation of users and workers in all instances of planning, management and control organised at the level of river basins.

## **The success of the referendum vote**

An intermediate success for the campaign occurred in October 2003, when the first stage of the referendum process came to a close with the successful handing in of signatures. 247.000 signatures, or 10% of the electorate, was the necessary minimum and around 283.800 were collected and handed to parliament on the 30th of October 2003 (Achkar, 2008). In June 2004 the electoral college was then duly formed, setting in motion the plebiscite mechanism that was to culminate a year later in the referendum of the 31st of October 2004. The referendum on water was held in parallel with the presidential election, which for the first time elected a left president in Uruguay, Mr. Tabaré Vázquez of the leftwing party coalition 'Broad Front' (Santos and Villareal, 2005; Moshman, 2005). A big majority, 64,7% of the Uruguayan voters, voted in favour of the water referendum to amend the Uruguayan constitution.

## ***The referendum results and power struggle to determine meaning***

The referendum changed article 47 of the constitution and some non-permanent clauses (Parliament of Uruguay, 2004). The result of these are the new constitutional pillars of the Uruguayan water sector that can be summarised as the prohibition of privatisation in all its forms and participation by citizens in all instances of planning, management and control of the water cycle. The regulative framework is to incorporate the "logic of the social" (CNDAV, 2004) and position it over economic and business considerations. In addition, water and sanitation services are to be provided only by direct state organs (CNDAV, 2004). The new article 47 reads: "The public sanitation service and the public service responsible for supplying water for human consumption shall be provided exclusively and directly by State legal entities" (Smets, 2006). Its impact bears on the state institutions in the organisational field and transforms the governance and management of the national water utility OSE.

In order to reach the constitutional goals, CNDAV considered four operative pillars to empower society to comply with the new rights approach. These were protection of resources through a national water policy, public property of water resources in a public domain approach, state-public entities as operators and the prohibition of the mercantilisation of water resources (Achkar, 2008). The decisive victory of the referendum and the election of President Velazquéz opened the possibility for a new path of development in the Uruguayan water sector and changed the strategic outlook of the water movements. As a result, the new left government has been obliged to pass new legislation to implement the necessary reforms in regards to public ownership and control and participation (Hall and de La Lobina, 2004).



## **Success: a new challenge for the movements**

This date was to mark the point of inflection for the water movement in Uruguay. Already before the referendum in the year 2004, CNDAV had decided in a plenary to maintain its activity and organisation after the referendum in order to defend the contents of the referendum. CNDAV understood that the new political context generated opportunities to reach the key objectives of the reform. It was seen as fundamental to initiate a process of contact, debate and search for common bases with the new authorities of the state.

According to the self-reflection of CNDAV, the hardest period started in the year 2005 with the systematic implementation of the different principles established in the new constitution. In this period, citizen participation on the basis of information and capacity building has been a key objective. “These are the new hopes and objectives of the new period; to generate and grow the spaces of participation to defend the results that were reached through the vote” (Achkar, 2008, p.99). For that to happen, information diffusion and motivation of citizens to participate were identified as key factors to establish a new form of participatory and solidarity-based citizenship.

The expectations resulting from the constitutional reform were the recuperation of privatised companies and the establishment of sustainability in water resource management, incorporating participation and social control. Santos and Valdomir (2005) and my field research concur in the finding that the political dispute over the private concessions have not permitted the movement to concentrate on the positive agenda of creating new instruments of participatory and sustainable public service provision in the years of 2004 and 2005. Beyond the scope of Santos and Valdomir’s study, the same findings apply for the year 2006, which was also under scrutiny in my field research.

## **Implementation of alternative and crystallisation of reform path**

### ***The new political conjuncture***

After the elections and the referendum, the objectives and hopes of CNDAV were therefore about the application of the contents of the reform, which was neither an “easy nor automatic” (Achkar, 2008, p.96) process. The post-referendum phase has been shaped by the immediate objectives of recuperating the privatised service areas and the more long-term aims of advancing a national water policy, rationalising the legal and institutional sector structure

and implementing citizen, worker and user participation in the management and governance of the sector.

This implementation phase and the related development of the movement organisations into sustained and propositional implementation agents were unfavourably conditioned by the national political conjuncture. The newly elected Broad Front refused to appropriately recognise the referendum; the newly elected president failed to mention the referendum in his first public presentation after his election and thereby created an affront with the Commission. The reason for this affront was that the new authorities had a different reading of the consequences of the reform to the one CNDAV held. After the referendum the government refused to enter into a path of dialogue and concertation with CNDAV and argued that the Commission, now that it had been successful, should dissolve. Clearly, this was an attempt by a leftwing government coalition to subsume civil society and social movement organisations under their new political project. CNDAV was a social and political force that the new ruling elites and state autocrats saw as a danger to their new power. This conjuncture led to key preoccupations for CNDAV in the year 2005, which were about the difficulty of creating a dialogue space between CNDAV and the new government, difficulties internal to the movement sector to organise and drive the elaboration of a new national water policy.

All these elements culminated in the release of the presidential decree CM/71 of the Council of Ministers on the 20<sup>th</sup> of May 2005. From the perspective of the movement, the government conceded to the terms of trade of the global political economy and chose not to heed popular will. Indeed, the decree can be read as bloc closure by the new state elites and a sidelining of the Commission since there had been disagreement about the state's recuperation strategy also during the campaign. Overall, the resulting PSP settlements can be argued to have favoured private sector interest and been at the cost of the public sector.

### ***Conflict over re-nationalisations***

#### **The decree CM/71**

On the 20th of May 2005 the executive released the decree CM/71 that interpreted the constitutional reform with diverging consequences. First of all, the legality of the decree was questionable, although it was in the aftermath not possible to successfully challenge it in court. The decree establishes that the concession contracts prior to the referendum remain intact. This meant that the two concessions of URAGAU, a subsidiary of the French multinational



Aguas de Bilbao, and Aguas de la Costa, a subsidiary of Suez, were maintained. The other element of the decree was about immediate state action on non-state service systems that were not under legal contractual arrangements.

This second part of the decree according to Santos and Valdomir (2005) had both a positive and a negative aspect. The positive was that it affected the concession of Aguas del Pinar, the third existing private sector contract whose private counter-part did not deliver the contractually agreed service quality. In fact, the concession was under strong critique and had been legally challenged since the early 1990s. In 2005, an acute sanitation crisis was declared by state authorities. Therefore, according to the decree, the concession could be dismantled. This was however also not an immediate process as in the middle of 2006, at the end of the active study period, OSE was still about to take over operational control over the system.

The negative effect of this second part of the decree applies to the 12 cooperatives and self-managed services providers that then existed in Uruguay, and still did so at the end of the study period. These were also to be nationalised and incorporated into OSE. The formulation of the constitutional reform lent itself to such a policy stance, which was a complicated scenario for CNDAV. This is because these mostly citizen-based and user cooperatives and, while some functioned badly and even for private interest, were in general considered valuable and effective self-help systems (Marquisio, 31.05.2006). The response by CNDAV was resolute. The Commission issued the Maldonado Declaration and resolved to reject and fight the decree and all other resolutions that contradict the popular mandate of the constitutional reform. However, CNDAV had also to accept that the figure of cooperatives was indeed a point of contradiction in the reform text.

### **Cancellation of concessions**

After the decree was issued, the URAGUA concession in the department of Maldonado was cancelled in October 2005 on the basis of breach of contract. It is important to note that the new constitution was not applied in this case. The cancellation was regulated by an international trade court, the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes, and occurred under the conditions of the contractual agreement and was justified with water quality problems and investment and payment delays on the side of the subsidiary of the Spanish company Aguas de Bilbao. Even though the government made it clear that this contract cancellation was due to contract incompleteness and not the constitutional reform,

Santos and Valdomir (2005) argue that the contract's future would not have been necessarily the same without the politicisation by CNDAV and the referendum results. In Maldonado a decentralised unit was established after the URUAGUA contract cancellation, which was a special institutional arrangement that breaks with the centralised state utility structure. So one longterm effect of the privatisation policy is a certain defragmentation of the centralised utility.

Santos and Valdomir (2005) also argue that on the basis of the new constitution the Uruguayan government disrespected popular will because of the threat of Aguas de la Costa to take any incursion into the concession contract to an international arbitration court of trade agreements. They speak of threats by Suez in that regard. The state saw itself in no position to go into such a court challenge, which effectively meant that the sovereign state disregarded its highest constitutional laws because of international economic and legal pressures. This shows that for the nationalisation the contractual boundaries implanted in the concession treaties and in international trade agreements were key restrictive factors for the reform process.

After Aguas del Pina was bought by OSE in December 2006 for 1.5 million \$US, the only remaining private sector model, apart from the unresolved issue of the 12 cooperatives that are a different question entirely, is Aguas de la Costa. In 2005, Suez still remained part of the contract and there was an attempt to create an arrangement between OSE and the concessionaire to reduce the high tariff problem and resulting access discrimination in the concession area. The key issue here was the unconnected households of which there were an estimated 700 in the area. The arrangement for a social tariff was however only used by around 100 households, thus leaving 600 households out of the solution and connected to unsafe water sources of self-made wells and rainwater (Santos and Valdomir, 2005). In February 2006, Suez sold its 60% share and thereby was bought out of the contract by the Uruguayan government in a mutual settlement. The PSP remains in operation with a 40% private ownership by a national company called Belgamba and Gross. While CNDAV supported the fact that the last transnational company was removed from controlling parts of the delivery system, it criticised the settlement as partial, as the private firm remained, and as too favourable for Suez and in final consequence unconstitutional.

As regards the still open question of the 12 small cooperatives, there was much debate and DINASA was to create a working group whose task it was to look into the legalisation of these cooperatives. According to the national director of sanitation, Mr Genta, this focus on



legalising the small cooperatives distracted and diverted resources from other more fundamental tasks in water sector reform (Selva, 07.06.2006). While this may be correct, the political profit DINASA drew from this detriment was the further sidelining of CNDAV in the policy process.

### ***Movement Building Post Referendum***

The general dynamic of the movement sector in the post decision phase was dominated in years 2004, 2005 and 2006 by this contestation to the government plans on the PSP contracts. In 2006, the issue of water resource management became more important as the PSP contracts were cancelled and at least partial solutions found. In addition, since the referendum the movement, especially UTEA and FFOSE were influenced and were involved with the internal restructuring of OSE, FFOSE and others also implicated themselves in the parliamentary dialogue forum in the year 2005 and afterwards in the DINASA process, thus creating incidents in the restructuring of state apparatuses.

The movement internally had a certain breathing space just after the referendum but quickly had to adjust from campaign mode to meet post-decision requirements of its new role as legitimate representative of popular demands. Movement building needed to build means of representation and legitimacy over time for the movement organisation CNDAV so that CNDAV could really turn into the implementation agent it envisioned itself to be. This affected articulation forms and meant that countervailing power and power to act had to be developed and extended.

Movement-government relations in that period deteriorated because of different understandings of the post-referendum purpose of CNDAV and the PSP strategy of the government in the early phase after the referendum. Later the gap also widened because of differences in understanding of how participation and social control were and remain to be implemented. As mentioned above, CNDAV intended to see through implementation after the referendum while the Broad Front left the Commission and argued even for its dissolution. In 2006, after serious political capture by some left splinter groups in 2005, the Commission had reduced in active membership as only a few regional sections and not many social sectors remained active. CNDAV has been recognised by its own members as having had a dynamic and unstable membership structure at that time. It has also been argued that the political capture was unhelpful and unnecessary (Achkar, 2008).

The response by the key members of CNDAV to this particular phase after the referendum was to concentrate on key tasks and strategic objectives. One was the DINASA/COASAS process that I explain further below and the other was the generation of expert knowledge about Uruguayan water resources and integrated resource management models. This in fact became a key work element in the course of 2005 and 2006. Other key work elements were the reform of OSE, which was an issue particularly for UTEA and FFOSE. In 2006, CNDAV was revitalised and repositioned itself to move away from the defensive issues on PSP and move to propositional elements in water resource management, governance reform and OSE reform. Also, the transnational movement campaign 'Blue October' was organised by CNDAV and gave fresh impetus to the local-national movement.

### *Political space for dialogue*

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 2005 a decision for a dialogue space was reached by a CNDAV and the national labour organisation delegation of PIT-CNT in negotiations with the government and the president of Uruguay. The dialogue space incorporated parliament members of the left party coalition and CNDAV. This space was created almost one year after the referendum and CNDAV intended to use it to work on the key open questions that remained pending as a result of the then incomplete and disjointed realisation of the new constitutional stipulations. The key open questions were the propositions on water policy, management reform of OSE and institutional development at state level. On the 27<sup>th</sup> June 2005, this dialogue space met for the first time. It was to debate a series of issues such as the recuperations of private companies, the development of water resource management, legislation for water resources, equity of access to water and sanitation, and the deepening of citizen debate on the construction of a new national water policy.

The fact that the government entered into an informal but parliament-based negotiation with CNDAV shows that CNDAV had reached and maintained a level of legitimacy and representation. This was founded on the referendum struggle and success. This informal parliamentary consultation commission met less than ten times and negotiated on the basis of CNDAV and government proposals alike. However, the power distribution in the commission was clear. It was an informal space with little public resonance and CNDAV did not have the back-up of a realistic threat of mobilisation to pressurise the government into accepting policy proposals in that consultation.



The meetings did not yield substantial agreements between movement and government and came to an abrupt, and for CNDAV unexpected, close in October 2005. The government representatives simply did not attend a scheduled meeting, making CNDAV representatives wait in an empty room, without explaining or excusing themselves. The government unilaterally dissolved the dialogue space just before the budgetary law needed to be passed in parliament. That law was to incorporate the re-structuring of the state apparatus of the water sector and therefore was an important step in the implementation of the constitutional reform. The Commission had intended to influence that decision and push through its objectives in that particular dialogue space and thereby proactively impact in a substantial way the form and content of this new state apparatus restructuring but was thwarted. As a result, the Broad Front passed the new budgetary law without heeding the prior concertation with CNDAV. Indeed, the government stopped all communication with CNDAV at the time and disregarded the agreed process of collaboration.

Finally, only minor elements of the negotiations flowed into the new law that was to give rise to DINASA and COASAS. "They boiled us, in the last moment they sacked us from there and came up with a different vision and all that was negotiated, especially about participation, was thrown out" (Selva, 07.06.2006). Such was the view by the movement. In contrast, the national director of sanitation later recognised the legitimacy of CNDAV as public interlocutor but criticised the self-justification that occurred on the basis of the results of the referendum and thereby justified in retrospect the actions of the government. Even though there are questions about the means by which CNDAV as movement organisation can represent and maintain legitimacy as a policy actor, this view by Genta needs to be comprehended as that of a state representative who pushes a new political project by the government and therefore tries to undo the movement project.

The dialogue space needs to be read as an opening of political space where the movement project clashed with the new government's state project. State power was clearly in the hands of the political elites behind the government and there was neither legal basis nor political experience for such a concertation process. The counter-veiling power of the movement, with its weak force of mobilisation at the time and internal turmoil in CNDAV, could not prevent the policy closure and taking over of control of the restructuring process by state intervention.

In the long-term, the consequence of this closure of the political space has been that the popular logic engrained in the new constitution has been taken over by a state logic, thus the

legislative process following the constitutional reform is dominated by political parties and state autocrats, while CNDV found it difficult to apply itself in constructive ways. One element to consider here is that the movement concentrated on negotiating with government in informal ways and did not, for reasons of lack of resources and one may argue failure to comprehend the strategic scenario, sufficiently base this process in collective politics and make it a contentious enough issue in public debate. This was partly due to the special circumstances at the time, where left groups were reluctant to criticise a left government coalition they had struggled for a long time to place in power. The consequence was that the movement project and political space of the movement were thwarted and replaced by a new state project that applied the new constitution but sidelined the movement actors.

### ***State restructuring***

#### **The new national directorate**

The national government created the national directorate of water and sanitation (DINASA) with the budgetary law for 2005-2009 (National Budget Law 17.930). Article 287 of this law positions the DINASA within the Ministry of Housing, Land Management and the Environment and designates that this directorate is to formulate and propose the sector policies on water resource management and water services, propose a new efficient legislative framework and operationalise participation, in accordance with the wording of the new constitution. The executive is to inform parliament once a year about progress made in this regard. The fact that water policy and sector institutions of the state were bundled and centralised was a success for the water movements whose key demands with the referendum included the reorganisation of the sector. In the debates with government they had demanded the creation of a Ministry of Water but this proposal was not accepted by government and instead a national directorate was created.

Article 291 creates a COASAS, a 'Technical Advisory Commission for Water and Sanitation'. This was the state's answer to resolving the institutional gap after the referendum. The problem that Santos and Valdomir find with this law is that the definitions of participation and peoples' involvement are not concrete (Santos and Valdomir, 2005). A different issue that the field research revealed was that the nomination of Mr. Luis Genta by the Minister was understood as an affront by CNDV, who were highly critical of Mr. Genta's prior work in the water sector. These two critiques exemplify the relatively small amount of power that CNDV had at the



time, notwithstanding the predominantly positive development of the relationship between Mr. Genta and CNDAV afterwards.

### **Movement logic versus state logic**

This power to act appears even smaller when compared to the self-expectation of the movement, as expressed amongst others by Maria Selva Ortíz (Selva, 06.06.2006), who argued that the COASAS should be an institutionalisation of participation for the members of the movement sector, instead of it being a general social space of participation also of other (class) interests. By contrast, the research found that the political process that was to generate the regulation for COASAS was in fact afterwards highly dominated by political parties and state personnel, who veered for power for their respective state apparatuses. In that state-internal power reshuffling, CNDAV could support the factions close to them but could not enter the struggle effectively and follow its own strategic objectives. State logic had taken over the institution building. There is an interesting point to be noted here on the expectations by the water movement sector on the character of civil society participation spaces after pro-public decisions. Parallels can be drawn to Bolivia, where also the expectations of the Bolivian water movements for the creation of a directly democratic Social-Technical Council in the Bolivian Water Ministry have not been met by government approval.

### **Implementation of a weak participation mechanism**

The Ministry of Housing, Land Management and the Environment issued Decree 87/2006 on the creation of COASAS on the 15th November 2006. The decree was to implement article 47 of the constitution and more specifically articles 327, 328 and 331 of the national budgetary law 17.930 of the 19th of December 2005. These stated that an 'Advisory Commission on Water and Sanitation' (COASAS) within the Ministry of Housing, Land Management and the Environment was to be established in order to assure effective participation of users and civil society in all stages of planning, management and control. According to the decree, delegates from the following public and private organisations compose COASAS: competent Ministries, Planning and Budget Office, mayors' congress, administration of OSE, the multi-sector regulator URSEA (Unidad Regulatoria de Servicios de Energy y Agua), University of the Republic, and representatives of civil society and users.

COASAS is to be tasked with collaboration in the water policy process within the Ministry. It is to advise and voice opinions to DINASA at the request of the ministry or any member, and

advise the national executive through the ministry on specific issues when requested. The structure of COASAS is divided between a plenary, working groups and a permanent secretary. The secretariat is to be located in DINASA, which means that its operational and administrative liberties will be limited. Also, the fact that the national director of DINASA him/herself is to preside over COASAS suggests an element of political control over COASAS.

In addition, the membership structure of COASAS resembles not so much a space of civil society participation but a state concertation space with minor participation of civil society. Also, the overwhelming influence and political control over COASAS by the political leadership of DINASA can also be shown by the fact that the vote of the president is to count double in the case where a vote in the plenary is otherwise a draw. The number of votes and form of participation of users, workers and citizen is not even formulated in a strict way but is written in a way that can be interpreted to give more or less voice and vote to social organisations.

Concretely, article 12 of the decree further stipulates that these civil society organisations are to be commercial chambers, trade unions, professionals and NGOs. The wording of paragraph 12 of Decree 87/2006 is such that it remains open to how many and in what way representatives with vote in COASAS can be chosen by these groups. The text specifies election of a representative of each group according to a high level of representation, but does not clarify if that means one representative of all trade unions or one for each trade union.

Another factor that debilitates the quality of citizen and user participation in COASAS is that ordinary meetings are only held once a year and that costs for activities in COASAS, for example in the more permanent working groups, is not remunerated, which means that union and user organisations without the financial resources to engage permanently and at a high level of expertise in such a state hierarchy are discriminated against. There can be extraordinary meetings upon request of the president of COASAS, in other words the national director of DINASA, or by at least six members of COASAS. It was unclear at the end of the study period if this stipulated of 6 votes to call a meeting meant that the social movements could call for extraordinary meetings or not, as the numbers of their representation in the COASAS plenary were not fully clarified because of the difficulties of paragraph 12 of Decree 87/2006. If they cannot, the COASAS is a space basically without much value for the politicised participation envisioned in the referendum campaign and merely a ghost of the 'effective participation' that people voted for. At least the working groups have propositional rights towards DINASA and can therefore bring up themes and issues.



As a result, the COASAS that was created resembles more the form of the already existing COTAMA (Commission on the Environment), a widely held example of participatory governance that however only delivers a low level of citizen participation. COASAS is more of a consultation space between state apparatuses, where inter-state forces in different apparatuses can build policy agreement and re-align power relations after the reshuffling of the creation of DINASA. It is surely not the implementation of a new logic of direct democracy and citizen participation that CNDAV had envisioned in the referendum and had fought for in the parliamentary informal negotiation space.

### **Limited impact by CNDAV**

Having said this, it would be false to claim that CNDAV did not have an important impact on the institutional design. CNDAV did participate in the public hearings and meetings on the creation of the COASAS, even if it was not able to deliver a strong movement project as counter-project to DINASA. This was partially due to internal weaknesses and also lack of concerted effort by CNDAV members and lack of specific, expert-supported and socialised proposal development. CNDAV reacted more than it acted in this process. Nevertheless, CNDAV did intervene and one can argue that because of CNDAV's incessant and at least partially effective intervention, the institutional design was significantly changed. Initially, the participation instrument was to be called COTASA, in close following of the more traditional COTAMA, but that was changed to COASAS because citizen participation became more prominent. Nevertheless, the fact remains that COASAS resembles a state project that implements old and lower forms of participation and remains under the full control of state functionaries. It nevertheless is an important step forward that generates new forms of participation in sector governance for civil society but it is not the institutionalisation of the movement project of effective participation in all areas of planning, management and control. COASAS as citizen vehicle was prevented by the government. Proposals by CNDAV for higher forms of participation were not heeded, "not because legally it was impossible but because of a different political vision" (Marquisio, 31.05.2006).

It is necessary to link and compare the political process in the lead up to the DINASA and COASAS creation, which mainly took place in the thwarted informal parliament dialogue space, with the actual results of the new state apparatuses, the power relations they express and the forms of limited participation to which they give rise. Overall, it can be argued that for a second time the government disregarded the movement's demands while the movement was

not powerful enough to steer implementation in its interests. This is the case notwithstanding the fact that DINASA and COASAS are both direct products of the referendum success.

The first instance of clear state and party-political take-over was with the issue of re-nationalisation, where the decree CM/71 of the 20<sup>th</sup> of May was the decisive government action. Then, with the restructuring of the state structures a similar disappointment was accorded to the movement. What happened in summary was that the new constitutional right of participation and the expectation in the movement that the government was going to assume the wording of that right were both not met. The creation of DINASA at the end of a thwarted political process in parliament was already a procedural downturn for the movement. Then the implementation of participation in a low organisational form has to be considered as a failure of the movement project to implement new forms of direct democratic participation and social control in the Uruguayan water sector. For CNDAV it remains an open task to demand and fight for more and better instruments of participation in the new state structures and policy making.

### ***Utility reform***

#### **A new context for reform**

The process and results of utility reform of the OSE was possible with the unfreezing of organisational blockades and barriers to change and the coming into effect of new projects of transformation inside the utility. The referendum and the new left government coalition were the key drivers of change. OSE's politically appointed directorate was exchanged and the union and UTEA members that had formerly been the oppositional forces within the utility became more prominent and to some degree also more powerful actors in the company. So after the referendum and with the new left government coalition the relations of power inside the organisation of OSE changed fundamentally, which has led to a political opening in the organisation of OSE. Movement members refer to it as a new spirit of reform that actually materialises utility reform projects (Rosa, 06.06.2006). In how far these very real shifts of power relations have indeed materialised into utility reform is to be reviewed according to questions of by whom and how projects of change were driven and what results these changes brought in relation to the principles of the new constitution. The referendum has had a deep and substantive impact on OSE not only in the area of managerial changes but also in a first instance at the level of public sector ethos and identity.



Also, the role of UTEA has changed substantially since the elections and FFOSE has had much better access to the management and managerial decisions. This was possible through a general government policy, not restricted to WATSAN but to all economic areas, through which trade unions gained more rights of participation in their respective firms.

### **Utility changes**

Since the referendum, a series of management improvements have led to reduction of corruption and mismanagement in the company, which has already had direct results already in the first year. For example, the expenditures of OSE were reduced by a significant balance sheet surplus in the first year after the referendum, created by operational savings reached only by cutting unnecessary expenditures. In 2004, the balance surplus was at 10 million \$ US and in 2005 it rose to 25 million \$US.

Also, the power shift within the utility led to a management improvement programme called Vector and the opening of a new social policy office. Operational changes within OSE include efficiency gains through internal benchmarking, reform of procurement policies and participatory sanitation projects, such as in department of Canelones. Despite gains in labour productivity and operational efficiency, key challenges remain in areas such as unaccounted for water, which is still above 54% (OSE, 2008).

Also, OSE has embarked on a number of public-public partnerships in two African countries and Bolivia. These were partially induced by the political pressure of CNDAV and FFOSE. Another PUP was envisioned by CNDAV with a Brazilian counterpart in order for OSE to learn about participatory budgeting. This last PUP did not materialise mainly because of resistance within the administration of OSE and the Broad Front to such radical changes of participatory management in OSE.

### **The new champions of change**

As is to be expected, a key player in this utility transformation is the new directorate of OSE. Despite clear differences and conflicts between CNDAV and the directorate about the PSP settlements, when it comes to the internal transformation of the utility the directorate was seen by movement members as open to participation by CNDAV. Also on other, external political issues has there been collaboration, as for example at the World Water Forum in Mexico, where the Uruguayan government delegation, composed also by the OSE

administration, supported a side declaration to the ministerial declaration of the WWF in support of the human right to water and public service delivery.

FFOSE especially was active as a driver for change inside the utility and pushed for new forms of citizen and union participation and social control in the public company. One key demand has been the implementation of a participatory budget, for which the Brazilian neighbours of Uruguay are held up as positive examples. Such wide sweeping changes in the organisation of OSE however were and remain impossible to achieve, it seems, with the existing directorate.

### **UTEA as movement-based driver of internal change**

The special character and role of the UTEA stem from its self-understanding as a political group that creates space of debate with the general management and internalises politics in the utility. Over the course of 2004 and 2005 UTEA maintained meetings once a week with around 10 long-term technical staff of OSE (Sossa, 04.06.2006). Still there was little communication to the workforce and no official representation to the directorate at the end of the study period. The key for UTEA was its direct relation to the directorate in order to have influence. The mode of activity of UTEA changed in this period from what can be called campaign mode to a form of intervention directed at internal change processes and informal strategies.

The strength of such informal strategies was that the elaboration of proposals and analysis could occur without political deflection but the weakness was that because of lack of access to management decision, the influence of UTEA was at best informal. UTEA's self-perception in 2006 was one of support agent for OSE improvements and UTEA took up a number of politically and organisationally sensitive issues, some of which were not shared with the public. Some key issues in 2005 and 2006 were a merit-based employment structure or corruption. Also, UTEA wrote secret documents to expose corrupt staff in OSE and handed these documents to the new directorate after the elections. An important success for UTEA was that a proposal for an internal change project was chosen by the directorate as an alternative route to outsourcing, which resulted in the establishment of the Vector programme (Rosa, 06.06.2006).

The weakness remains however that UTEA only has informal access to the directorate and that there certainly is no obligation by the directorate to cooperate with UTEA, even though in the conjuncture in 2005 and 2006 they did so. As to be expected for a national utility, party politics have affected the directorate and management of OSE and influenced changes that were



undertaken. Next to these political processes inside the new government coalition, the key political factor was that the new political leaders had serious difficulties of managing a utility with decades of right-wing political embedding.

### **Lack of formalisation of participation**

Despite the obvious shift in power constellations within the utility, and despite the fact that the OSE directorate has undertaken a major political opening that allows FFOSE to transmit, participate, politicise and do assemblies inside the company, workers and user participation remained deficient and without formalisation.

The only institutionalised form of participation that occurred during the study period was through a number of commissions, where the union FFOSE was granted access to utility management as a result of a law by the new government that strengthened countervailing powers of all trade unions in their public companies. Special conventions were signed in OSE to operationalise these commissions in areas such as the company's budget. Apart from that there is only the quite traditional public relations office of OSE, which does not work on citizen participation at all but works on simple one-way communication campaigns. There is a definite lack of communication between citizens and the government, represented in OSE by the directorate and upper management of the company.

This is despite the fact that according to CNDAV members there have been a series of attempts to create more communication between the directorate, citizens and the workers. There is a definite lack of willingness by OSE to work more closely and cooperate more with FFOSE. No forms of co-management with the union were established while one has to recognise that the new OSE administration under the Broad Front has improved management. A person in the middle management of OSE explained that the reorganisation of work procedures is an opportunity to implement more participatory and transparent mechanisms and procedures but that such participation elements did not happen. One area where informal exchanges have occurred is the change management programme 'Vector'. Overall, there were debates within the company and also among members of the movement in how far union participation and citizen participation were to be demanded.

Nevertheless, what has changed the shape of OSE's internal functional reality is that many people who work at OSE in all different levels were indeed active participants in the water campaign. In OSE particularly there were many people that were institutionalised at varying

degrees with backgrounds of defending, struggling and active participation in the water campaign and that reaches down to the level of workers, who have an important potential. Nevertheless, the lack of information exchange, communication and a non-existent culture of participation within the company and towards citizens remain a fact. But there were people who tried to give impulses and during the study period OSE's internal transformation presented itself as a promising terrain for movement demands to materialise in formal and informal channels.

An early and concrete result of the political opening for utility transformation occurred just after the referendum when FFOSE gained some improvement for its members and pushed through a wage agreement. In addition to this sort of more traditional interest politics for the workers, the union is also clear that workers participation means propositional input to the management. FFOSE therefore intends to create new forms within the company. "Participation is to create changes in the company and we consider that utility change will also come through workers participation" (Rossa, 07.06.2006). Despite this assurance, the union leader Wilma Rosa argued that no political project for democratisation of utility has been embarked on by FFOSE.

### **Slow and limited changes inside the utility**

During the study period OSE was dominated by a consolidation process that was mostly on the basis of the party-political and state-authority power shift of the new government. Indeed, the field research found that there is no social movement-led change project that was systematically articulated within OSE. Indeed, it is an open question whether a new public ethos has really sunk in inside OSE. Whereas the shift was talked about a lot and is proclaimed by the company, the secretary general of OSE could not explain to me its concrete meaning and implications.

However, even if there is no concretised movement project that countervails the dominant mode of restructuring within OSE, there certainly is a diffused set of processes that were only possible because of the successful referendum campaign. The union certainly has adjusted its strategies to this reality. The general secretary ruled out any forms of increased participation for the level of executive management of OSE and during the research period no legislative reform was in sight that would revise the functions and structure of OSE. Participation in OSE is even less present than in DINASA. While OSE certainly has been a projection space for



demands of participatory utility management, neither a political project by the government nor a seriously articulated movement project was in place in 2006 that could have further democratised the public utility. To the contrary, there was a certain sense of closure of the organisation by the administration. So the utility reform on the basis of the referendum had been dominated by the left government coalition, despite some important element of movement induced transformation.

Utility change management included issues of refreshing the ageing utility workforce, which during the study period remained a serious problem because the public utility was not allowed to hire more public servants because of national budgetary restrictions. A key objective of the union was to establish a career based employment scheme within OSE in order to re-establish legal order and systematic staff procedures and protect long-term staff. A team of confidence was put in place, led by a senior member of FFOSE and UTEA, to restructure and reform computing services. The working group was understood also as a tool to break up internal and informal power structures and structures of clientelism and nepotism.

Overall, there was more openness to change in OSE after election, also related to space and funding for social science-based work on the social sector. Notwithstanding, outsourcing projects in OSE remained untouched. According to Marcel Achkar (Achkar, 05.06.2006), the starting point of all these changes was a very bad public image, and a background of 30 years of clientelism, patronage, politically induced mismanagement and lack of union power. Any serious utility change needed to break up old power structures within the utility, especially related to the former right-wing party dominance.

As a result, changes were slow to develop but were manifold and have driven OSE slowly to structural changes. A new user and client focus has been established, though without a participatory angle. The discursive changes in OSE drove a broader understanding of public service and impetus for change and it was for the first time that the discourse of public service responsibility was actually joined by transformation action. This was clearly not only a result of the referendum itself or the enlightened style of governance and management by the Broad Front but also needs to be understood as a result of incessant pressure by the union.

The key programme of utility change was called the Vector programme and it resembles a traditional management improvement project whose impetus and design was not only a top-

down exercise but was also influenced by the union and UTEA, who in 2006 were preparing for more participation in the Vector programme.

### **Internal barriers to change**

Organisational blockages and barriers to change were identified as stemming from resistance to progressive changes proposed by the movement sector to the new political administration under the leadership of the Broad Front. Also, employees related to the former rightwing government and especially the old cadres that still held management positions were an issue. One extreme example is the son of an ex-president of Uruguay who was appointed to work in the social policy programme for political reasons.

The field research found that such forces hindered the internal change processes and put results in danger by creating internal resistance to change. The Broad Front was also limited in scope and possibilities by the existing legal frameworks of the state of Uruguay, which had been dominated and structured by a decade long right-wing government. While micro-corruption by workers remained an issue, the 30 years of mindset within OSE were hard to unfreeze and change in the short period of time following the referendum. A key task in the short run was the cleaning of organisational refuse by investigations on corruption in OSE, which was seriously hindered however by a law passed by the new government that gave legal impunity to former state officials under certain circumstances. In the aftermath of the referendum and the election, UTEA argued that problematic staff in the company should be replaced and brought to justice while the nodal points or centres of power and patronage within the utility remained strong in the study period.

### **New office of social policy**

A core element of the new OSE was understood to be the new Office of Social Policy. Gaston Casa, also a member of UTEA and CNDAV, was put in charge of the new office, which meant that it condensed the interests and political project of the movement sector not only through its objectives but also through its personnel. The office was a way to generate management change in the company and to implement organisational expressions for the human right to water. The office was created on the basis of the constitutional reform but also because of social welfare legislation by the new national government.

The social office implements the emergency plan of the central government that is directed towards sectors of the population receiving social welfare. This emergence plan is basically a



state fund to increase living conditions of which a conditionality is that poor households are legally connected to OSE. Since many poor households have illegal connections only, they cannot access this emergency plan funding. So the social office works on a social or solidarity tariff that allows households to legalise their connections without incurring major economic costs.

This is especially an important utility programme for the marginal neighbourhoods and human settlements. FFOSE argued that legalising these illegal connections with a solidarity tariff also makes sense for OSE who reduces unaccounted for water and receives at least some revenue where beforehand there was none. Another element of the concept is that the neighbourhoods initiate community based social control mechanisms on the water supply system and that OSE is to work with these community projects to educate them. This project parts from the movement understanding that water is a human right and therefore has to be accessible to all, and that the sector needs to develop forms and means of reaching that objective.

In this sense, for critics of the company, the unaccounted for water that is so far running into the illegal connections count as a water loss whereas in the understanding of the Uruguayan movement it is water given to people who need it. CNDAV argues that OSE should find a way to legalise them. The emergency plan was found to have had noticeable effect on new connections. It was based on a new type of work relations between offices of OSE and CNDAV. Collaboration between CNDAV and the social policy office included requests by the office to CNDAV about input on the implementation of human rights and pro-poor approaches. So CNDAV turned into a resource for OSE in a certain sense and limited fashion. CNDAV in turn considered the office as an implementation agency for reforms and thus as ally. The OSE directorate was at first reluctant to create such an office.

### **Difference between expectation and outcome**

The national director for water and sanitation, Mr Genta, argued that OSE improvement and management change were not covered directly by the constitutional reform. The only relevant elements were the re-nationalisations but OSE change management was an issue apart and CNDAV should not get involved in it (Genta, 06.06.2006). Disagreeing with this analysis, CNDAV's objectives were to influence OSE change management on issue of tariffs, water quality, rights approach and public participation and argued that this work by civil society was

the direct results of the new constitution. The opinions about the changes in OSE of FFOSE and also CNDAV can be summarised as disappointment, disillusionment and discontent. OSE in 2004 was in no condition to assume the spirit and content of the constitutional reform and embark on groundbreaking management changes. It was a slow and arduous process for the new directorate and the movement sector to unfreeze the organisation, design new management tools and implement these.

### ***Resource management as the new frontier***

The overall picture of resource management policy during the study period is marked by the unresolved and contentious work assignment that resulted from the constitutional changes. Participatory resource management on the basis of river basins and new political authorities thereof were a main element of the movement project embodied in the referendum. Also DINASA had accepted this policy goal in general but had not further conceptualised or moved ahead in policy design. CNDAV was critical of this delay and inaction of the state and pushed this agenda forward through its own movement intervention. Since the movement project and the state project, despite having similar policy goals, envisioned different instrument to reach that goal and had different understandings of the roles of CNDAV in that process, water resource management became a contentious issue between DINASA and CNDAV. Indeed, this contention was increased by the fact that since 2005 public debate was heated on the issue of cellulose industry and related water pollution and water resource impact.

The movement project had materialised when CNDAV, especially through REDES and 'Programma Uruguay Sostenible', published two important books on IWRM (Achkar and Cayssials, et al. 2004; Achkar and Domínguez et al., 2004). The first was published in the form of a popular education material on water resource management and sustainability. The other was a thorough and so far non-existent participatory socio-environmental diagnosis of water resource management of Uruguay. A document that required substantial field research and expert knowledge and was an act of constructive intervention by the movement and its related sector experts to set the terms of debate of the resource issue and thus push forward national water legislation.

REDES argued that they had the sector and environmental knowledge to work out models of implementation for participatory IWRM, which DINASA at the time of research did not have. CNDAV self-understanding was that it was bring in resources and expert knowledge that DINASA did not have or did not want to use for the elaboration of a new policy on IWRM.



CNDAV did so by publishing the above mentioned books early on in the implementation phase. Also, in the year 2005 CNDAV made explicit proposals for policy formulation (CNDAV, 2005) and proposed in form of drafted law proposals the creation of a political space between water-related state apparatuses and CNDAV in order to work out a new national water legislation and resource policy.

CNDAV demanded a political institutional space of concertation on water law. CNDAV with this proposal implanted and claimed a high level of recognition as civil society representative and stakeholder in hierarchic state space. Unfortunately for the movement, the state logic had taken hold of the implementation process already and therefore no such dialogue space beyond the failed parliamentary commission was created until the end of the study period. In addition, CNDAV, in the course of 2005 and 2006, did not wait for state action but initiated local pilot projects autonomously and even in opposition to initiatives by DINASA worked technically and strategically at local level in pilot projects. This exemplifies the other sort of change in the role of the movement sector; it became not only a demanding and enforcing agency of new rights and policy agendas but they also became proactive agents in the elaboration and design of these changes by actively working on a technical level and applying resources that the young state structures did not have at the time. Exchange and debate about general policy lines occur also between OSE and CNDAV, where CNDAV has significant input to debates and pushed themes of participatory governance and decentralised authorities, based on community structures and territorial divisions.

## **Summary**

The 'National Commission for the Defence of Water and Life' (CNDAV) successfully won a national referendum on water privatisation and the human right to water thereby anchored the prohibition of all forms of privatisation and the human right to water as fundamental principles in the constitution of the state of Uruguay. This started a transformation process that has impact on policy formulation, the materiality of the state and therefore the path of development of water management.

The major political conflict in the beginning of the implementation phase, which had already been visible in the run up to the election and the referendum, was the question of the consequences of the constitutional reform in regards to the then existing two concessions in the department of Maldonado (Pierri, 2004). Taking a strong stance in this controversy against the demands of the movement sector, the Velazquéz government issued on the 20<sup>th</sup> of May

2005 a decree that affirmed the private concessions (Santos and Villareal, 2005), thus setting the scene for a political conflict between the water movements and the government that was to dominate the years 2005 and 2006.

Apart from the contentious issue of private concession cancellations, the implementation of the constitutional amendments was debated in an informal political space between the parliamentarians of the left government and movement representative in the form of an informal commission. This space was however forestalled and sidelined, when government passed the budgetary law in 2005 to create the national water and sanitation directorate (DINASA) in the Ministry of Housing, Land Management and the Environment. Next to the privatisation issue and this institutional reorganisation of the governance structure, the other major issue in the implementation process was the management reform of OSE. This also has occurred in informal but also formal ways and led to diverging but overall positive results.

Related to this is participation, which is a key theme in the new agenda of the water sector, which was shown to have been implanted only in lower forms. Another aspect to highlight is the political processes around new models of water resource management and conflicts specifically over cellulose factories and related tree plantations. The latter have overshadowed not only the overall policy process since 2005 but also negatively influenced the development of a new resource management policy and practice.

Overall, the political and institutional process after the referendum has been one of conflict and did not lead to the rigorous sector transformation the movement had envisioned. The case study finds that the movement organisation CNDAV, while turning into a recognised agent in the organisational field, was not able to maintain its power to act. The Commission did not maintain its self-proclaimed role as legitimate representation of popular interest that it derived from the overwhelming results of the referendum.

While the outspoken intention already during the referendum campaign was to establish CNDAV as agent of change in the implementation process, the power to act by the movement was not sufficient to be decisive in the immediate and mid-range post-referendum phase. The transformations in the governance structure and the management of the utility in that time fall short of expectations, while CNDAV and its members had to adjust to the new realities. The organisational field nevertheless has fundamentally and profoundly changed and CNDAV does



stand out as a new form of water movement organisation that has successfully struggled to, at least partially, re-appropriate public water in Uruguay.

### **8.3. Analysis: discourse, outcomes and impact**

#### **Analysis according to discursive frame of the transnational movement sector**

##### **The movement discourse**

Democratisation was found to be a key discourse for the water movement in Uruguay. In fact, democratisation of information was one of the first demands of the movement while the constitutional reform was to be the framework for a generalised democratisation of governance and management. The process of framing also started with an anti-corporate stance, although with an important precursor of a technical proposal in the local commission by CDASCOP. The anti-corporate stance of the movement was very closely linked to a perspective of public sector transformation, which took precedence as the main movement frame once the referendum was won. This and other movement debates on the public sector and the ways of interaction of the movement in sector reform mirror the discourse at the global level. The differences in Uruguay are the early inclusion of a water resource perspective in the movement frame and its early focus on technical interventions in the sector.

The case study has demonstrated that the political discourse and political project of the water movement sector was embodied in the referendum campaign, and therefore in the establishment of positive rights. This was the starting point and empty signifier for the transformation of governance and management of water in Uruguay. The counter-hegemonic strategy of implementation is based on the conceptual frame of emancipatory public alternatives and politicised participation of social movements.

##### **The qualitative shift**

For this turn towards a struggle of appropriation, the necessary qualitative shift was the inflection point of the referendum itself. From resistance and campaign mode, the movement had to move on to a mode of articulation and intervention that could drive transformation of social relations and state structures. This correlates with the qualitative changes of discourse at the global level presented in Chapter 5. The case shows that the learning processes of the movement and the qualitative organisational and strategic shifts are necessary elements for the operationalisation of such a movement project. Therefore, it is correct to argue that the case study of Uruguay supports the local-national application and development of the

convergence frame of 'water as a public good and as a commons' and 'democratisation and (re-) vitalisation of public and community alternatives' (see Chapter 6). The challenge at the global level was to enhance the self-perception of the movements' agency, role, impact and potentials and in developing more concrete and critical understanding of the democratisation and revitalisation of public and community water.

### **Diffusion and collective learning**

The struggle by CNDAV demonstrates that movements can effectively change the overall sector framework by constitutional reform but that such is merely a first step. Water movements then need to engage in creative, sustained and propositional forms of intervention into the sector and need to develop expert knowledge in order to do so. CNDAV received important input on participatory budgeting from countries like Brazil and received important indications about how to organise a horizontal water movement from Bolivia. This shows that the diffusion of movement repertoires and expert knowledge on the sector occurs between the global and the local. The fact that the Uruguayan referendum has been widely held as an example of successful struggle and the fact that the number of constitutional challenges for the human right to water have spread around the Americas, to countries like Ecuador, Paraguay and Colombia, shows that this learning and exchange is reciprocal and multi-scalar. In the same way as the Peruvian case study, the case of Uruguay presented here is therefore part and parcel of the challenges that I have identified for the global discursive frame. I have thereby established the accordance of the case study to the conceptual framework and the findings on the global discourse.

### **Summary of demands and results**

The following table summarises the key demands and results of the Uruguayan water movement sector. It shows in a condensed form the movement demands in the areas of the key concrete-negative demand, the overall positive policy demands, rights perspectives, participation and new elements for utility reform (vertical column). I contrast this by the discourse, strategies, impacts, results and resistances to change (horizontal column). The table offers an overall analysis that expresses the movement's need to further develop organisationally and build up its counter-hegemonic project. By this means I draw out a set of key themes. The table is a synthesis presentation of the case narrative and appraisal and thus does not require further explanation or description.



Discourse	Demand	Strategy	Impact	Result	Resistances to Change
<b>Concrete Main Demand</b>  No private participation, no profit in service delivery	Cancellations of concessions • Stop to all PSP • Re-nationalisation	• Referendum campaign, • Constitutional law reform by referendum • forces government to enact new constitution	• General public debate and acceptance of no private stance • vote 64% for referendum • New Constitutional Paragraphs 47 and temporary paragraphs	• Constitutional Right, • Government decree of 20 <sup>th</sup> of May 2005 respects current contracts • Orderly withdrawal from concessions • government ongoing strategy for friendly settlements, • 1 PSP scheme still functioning • issue of cooperatives • OSE recuperation from market but internal outsourcing not stopped - commercialisation and state-capitalist control not changed	• Macro-economic ties of neoliberal state • government ideology of respect to market laws • little mobilisation power of SMOs • hegemony of liberal market
<b>Overall policy demand</b> (focus on urban sector but in Uruguay only one centralised state company)  Public water delivery	• State run services • Public Service Ethos • Patrimony	• Referendum campaign • Constitutional law reform by referendum • Forces government to enact new constitution	• fundamental service delivery re-orientation after constitutional right changed • Process of OSE re-organisation	• OSE recuperation and effectiveness drive, • Vector Programme • New political leadership in utility • Increased trade union constructive engagement in the utility	• Power struggle amongst coalition parties of new left government, • Inertia of frozen institutions and their organisations • strength of the political right interests in public authority structures
<b>Rights perspectives</b>  human right to water	• social equity • access • tariff • human right as functional logic of sector policy	• implementation through state power of new government • close links of movement sector to left parties	• new left government takeover of public sector with discourse of water as a human right	• New social policy office • government emergency plan • user-client perspective	• Lack of resources • Lack of popular participation • lack of organisational



Discourse	Demand	Strategy	Impact	Result	Resistances to Change
public goods			and related policy initiatives		capacity in utility
<b>Participation</b>  Participation in all aspect and stages of water management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participation of movement sector in decision taking of sector policy</li> <li>• Civil society and workers' participation</li> <li>• Information transparency</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SMOs seeks dialogue and coordination spaces with state authorities</li> <li>• On basis of legitimacy of movement success demand for a say in designing new set-up</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opening of new spaces between new elected left coalition government and the movement sector</li> <li>• procedural power limited (due to little mobilisation force)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Post-decision, recently unfrozen, informal process</li> <li>• Parliamentary commission</li> <li>• New institutional set-ups for participation in COASAS, low intensity participation</li> <li>• Law on public transparency</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of culture and knowledge, experience – models, proposals, debate</li> <li>• Little existing foundations for effective appropriation struggle, so strategy aims low but therefore effective</li> <li>• left government coalition not progressive driver</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participation in utility management</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• trade union engagement</li> <li>• UTEA engagement</li> <li>• CNDV input to OSE</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Little influence of movement sector in utility,</li> <li>• no formal access but many informal access points of individuals</li> <li>• no social project for participatory utility management</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National law for union access to commissions enacted in OSE</li> <li>• participation in large projects</li> <li>• movement members in high management positions</li> <li>• Commissions with trade union</li> <li>• UTEA input to directorate and upper management</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• OSE directorate lack of precursors, examples</li> <li>• lack of culture of participation and existing social structures to build on in society</li> <li>• size of utility</li> </ul>
<b>State Authority Centralisation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Centralised state authority at ministry level</li> <li>• Participation of movement sector in decision taking</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Movement sector enters negotiation spaces with government, ie in parliamentary commission</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Procedural power limited in parliamentary commission that developed proposal for DINASA but some crucial substantive</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• DINASA,</li> <li>• COASAS ,</li> <li>• DINASA tasked with new legislation to fulfil and enact new constitution</li> <li>• so far no major legislation to</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conflict between movement state power and civil society, struggle for hegemony and</li> <li>• political</li> </ul>



Discourse	Demand	Strategy	Impact	Result	Resistances to Change
			results <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Re-organisation of state structures have to take into account movement sector</li> </ul>	reorganise the sector <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• no new external social control for utility</li> </ul>	conflicts over reform of state structure
<b>Resource Management</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participatory River Basin Management,</li> <li>• decentralised local institutions on basis of existing popular democratic organisation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Baseline research and policy proposal by book publication</li> <li>• pilot projects</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Small number of pilot projects with some local grassroots basis (but in conflict with government plans)</li> <li>• Policy debate</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pilot projects,</li> <li>• sector policy debate</li> <li>• impetus for change</li> <li>• no participatory deliberation space to create new resource management</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Insufficient coordination or collaboration between movement, state power under new discourse</li> </ul>
<b>Building and establishing movement sector as proactive actor</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SMOs as interlocutor of society demands and state-sector policy,</li> <li>• SMOs to control enactment of new sector rules and active driver of process and beneficiary in terms of gaining policy access</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CNDV legitimacy from referendum as basis for policy making access</li> <li>• Ongoing internal movement building, though mostly centralised form post-decision, little grassroots work, on IRWM more community work</li> <li>• national “political space” envisaged</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SMOs established as key voice in public debates,</li> <li>• CNDV capacity and organisation post-decision maintained but difficulty to work in state dominated policy processes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sector influenced by SMOs</li> <li>• Parliamentary Commissions</li> <li>• Counter action by government to reduce CNDV influence</li> <li>• Some progressive elements of government-movement cooperation (ie international politics)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of re-configuration of state-society relations,</li> <li>• public (political) space not established sufficiently, formally or with considerable constituent power over time</li> </ul>
<b>Overall evaluation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Legal constitutional right won but filling this with legislation and institutional transformation not successful</li> <li>• Key problem is development of political space by the movement sector, in other words the transformation of movement-state relations.</li> <li>• The movement sector did not gain institutionalised access or participation rights in policy making, despite some informal procedural powers.</li> <li>• Resistances to change in sector and state authorities high, lack of political will of new left government coalition, little long-term mobilisation power of movement sector; but stable trade union organisation and leadership professional support for movement sector a strength</li> </ul>				

Table 5 Demand-results scheme Uruguay



## **Impact analysis**

The impact analysis now aims to systemise the data presented with the concept of movement impact that I developed as conceptual framework in Chapter 3. The objectives of this impact analysis are the same as in section 8.5, where I presented the impact analysis for the Peru-Huancayo case study.

### **Actor acceptance and agenda access**

Actor acceptance is an important part of the impact of social movements. CNDAV was accepted in the pre-decision phase and at decision point through the success of the referendum campaign. In the post-decision phase, the media and public recognition was given but the government had a different viewpoint and only through mobilisation was CNDAV accepted into governance processes. FFOSE and UTEA have certainly reached full acceptance in the organisation of the utility and the directorate. They are seen as progressive actors because of their strengthening and re-orientation through the campaign process. UTEA is now accepted in the utility directorate as one voice, not as a key input source as was the case previously.

Agenda access is another aspect to be considered. Access was not an automatic consequence of the constitutional reform even if it was implanted in the content of participation. In the course of the implementation process, CNDAV gained access to policy agendas via the parliamentary commission on a temporal basis, inside the utility OSE, here mainly through UTEA, and through its expert knowledge creation and pilot projects in the area of resource management. Also linkages between movement sector members and political parties assure a certain access through party political channels of interest articulation. On the other hand, participation mechanisms in DINASA, through COASAS, were not finally established during the research period. Overall, agenda access seems to be restricted at the level of the national directorate. In the preparation phase towards COASAS the access was restricted because DINASA was not open for collaboration. Nevertheless, important policy victories by the movement occurred beyond the key victory of the referendum.

### **Policy impact**

The referendum campaign remains the biggest single success while the re-nationalisation of private companies was commanded by government and therefore not such a success for the movement. So despite overall return to public ownership and control, there has been no outright policy victory. In terms of institutional reform of sector institutions, the movement



sector was successful in pushing for centralisation of all aspects of water (service and resources) in the new state hierarchy. Other policy issues of resource management, participation and utility reform however remain contentious and have not yielded the results that the movement envisioned and therefore there are, despite the substantive impacts the movement has reached, no policy victories.

In terms of output responses that satisfy grievances of movement activists, one point to make is a new employment security system for OSE workers. Also, water service problems created by private concessions have for the most part been resolved. Detrimental service quality of OSE has been addressed in the long term change process while short-term activities of the central government emergency plan and the soon to become more active new social policy office have addressed immediate and poverty-related issues. In terms of citizen participation not much was reached, so grievance of lack of political participation remains. Rural water issues and rural water users need to be addressed in future IRWM work, while cooperative systems are were put under threat by the new policy framework at least until a political settlement was reached in the course of 2006.

### **New roles for the collective actors**

The transformation of political systems in the form of democratic transition and democratisation and what I call movementisation of politics is another element of movement impact. CNDAV is for the first time a commission that, after a successful issue campaign, remains a pro-active political space in Uruguay. This is the case even if the movement impacts in terms of codification and implementation of a progressive politicised participation model inside DINASA, COASAS or OSE are not likely. The transparency law that was reached by the movement sector in the course of the referendum campaign was an important step in democratic transition and reorganisation of state structure. The limited reorganisation of the utility also contains interesting though weak elements of movementisation, such as the input by UTEA to the directorate of OSE or the informal links of the OSE directorate to CNDAV. There was a closing off of the political system by the new left government coalition that effectively excluded CNDAV from more potentially radical input to changes in the sector.

From an organisational perspective, the movement has been a source of cultural innovation. CNDAV was the starting point for the pro-public reform agenda and is certainly the main source of cultural innovation in the Uruguayan water sector. UTEA and FFOSE, and the

transnationally articulated discourse of the human right to water, function as innovation drivers in OSE, although here the directorate and its projects of Vector and social policy office are driven mainly by party political dynamics. For IWRM, the academic support group that is part of CNDAV is crucial in setting an innovative agenda while CNDAV is not articulated enough to enter OSE as driver.

The influence on the organisations of the sector is therefore considerable and leads to the creation of new organisational forms in the sector. DINASA and COASAS are new organisations and at least COASAS represents a new form of participation for the Uruguayan state, even though such a form will certainly remain in low intensity participation. Within OSE, the new office for social policy is a direct result of the new discourse of social equity and the human right to water. Also, the new form of social movement organising in the now permanent CNDAV has influenced the institutional organisations. For example, this was the case in terms of the temporary political space of the parliamentary commission in 2005. Its set-up was a direct result of the horizontal form of organising of CNDAV and its legitimacy through the successful referendum campaign. However, COASAS did not deliver the hoped link between state institutions and popular democracy. In OSE, the impact of UTEA and CNDAV are visible but no concrete re-organisation to develop more direct democratic forms of representation within OSE has occurred.

### **The quality of impact: reduction of the substantive impact**

The basis of the impact analysis is the framework of analysis developed and summarised in Diagram 2. The graph links contentious events and challenges to collective benefits that are produced by these events through a chain of interrelated impact elements. Firstly, the graph divides the characteristic of movement impact into procedural or substantive, with the latter divided between reactive or pro-active. For the Uruguayan case the referendum campaign is a clear example of a proactive and substantial impact on sector policy.

Post-decision processes however become more complex and need to be considered as moments in which only limited substantive impact occurs, like the inclusion of water resources as an issue for DINASA that happened because of pressure by the movement. More so, the post-decision phase is primarily characterised by a reactive impact against the dilution of anti-privatisation by the new government. In general, the movement finds it difficult to build on procedural impact, for example in the parliamentary commission, and develop more



substantive results. Also, the character of the procedural impact in the national policy framework is arguably weak and controlled by the new left government. In summary, a proactive-substantive impact was reached with the pro-public decision of the referendum but the implementation phase is characterised more by procedural and reactive-substantive impact.

This has implications for the institutional effects and the changing role of the collective actors. Sector institutions undergo a serious change process while the role of collective actors in that process is exceedingly small, despite demands for more participation. Collective benefits occurred in Uruguay firstly via the emergency plan of the new government and then through the better service conditions in the recuperated or partially recuperated formerly private companies. Also, protected worker rights are an obvious element in collective benefits. In addition, the pilot projects for IRWM have started a process of linking local community problems with national policy development. Movement success in its traditional understanding can be argued for on the level of the referendum campaign but not in terms of its core concrete demands of its implementation, or in its middle term vision for the sector. What certainly is the case is that long-term effects of the referendum will change the POS of the Uruguayan water movements, while transnational civil society remains a very important factor for CNDAV. I have widely employed these concepts throughout the case study and now turn to some other aspects of movement impact.

## **8.4. Discussion on findings**

### **Conceptual considerations**

#### **The pro-public challenge: an ongoing process**

The discursive foundations of the pro-public challenge in Uruguay can be found in the critical reflection of the concept of water in the early years of movement building which led to the bottom-up development of new concepts of public water that were taken on board by civil society and importantly FFOSE. The larger socio-political context of the time was marked by political opening towards the elections in 2004. The pro-public challenge started in a defensive contestation against a technical project in a local unit of OSE in la Ciudad de la Costa. From there it developed into a counter-hegemonic struggle for public water with a pro-public character. The development of a movement-based alternative took place in the drafting process of the referendum proposal and the expert support that was mobilised for it. The post-

referendum process was then marked in turn by a reduction of propositional capacity by the movement, which meant that the social movements after the referendum did not have the same strengths in projecting a project for the implementation of the elements of the constitutional reform. This shows that the pro-public challenge presents itself as a process-based and contingent path.

To address this, CNDAV has put emphasis on developing knowledge on sector reform through workshops and international exchanges, for example with transnational movement actors from Brazil on participatory budgeting. Nevertheless, a certain limitation has been set in the pro-public reform process. This is because the crystallisation of the pro-public reform is marked by a socio-political struggle over meaning. The political opportunity structures of the movement changed with the elections in 2004 but still remained unfavourable for deeper transformations of the sector. The meaning of the new constitution is open for hegemonic projection and articulation. On its basis, social and political forces formulate hegemonic projects. The capacity of the movement to engage and envisage and be a constructive part of the implementation of progressive transformative steps is the key challenge in the progression from constitutional to legal to institutional to behavioural changes. This marks the need for pro-public challenges not to end when key decisions in favour of public water are reached; instead once a political opening has been reached, it also needs to be filled with movement action.

#### **A movement-induced but not movement-controlled sector transformation**

However, the legislative implementation of the new constitution took place mainly through the government decree in May 2005, the budgetary law and the COASAS decree. These legal tools formulate and give concrete expression to the broad new constitutional framework. This framework of the human right to water, public water delivery, participation and sustainable resource management has served as the projection screen for both the movement and the government to respectively build their political projects of sector change. A fundamental discursive shift has occurred in the Uruguayan water sector. The new constitution in that sense served as empty signifier in the implementation phase throughout which occurred the power struggle over meaning and the crystallisation of sector reform. This crystallisation involved the creation of new state apparatuses in the form of DINASA and COASAS and the re-arrangement of relations of force between state structures and related societal interests, the reform of management of OSE, and the international market-conform and incomplete re-nationalisation of concessions.



In the years 2004 and 2005, the key issues in the post-referendum implementation process were of a defensive nature. These were primarily the de-privatisation of concession contracts and the clarification of implications for a number of community and cooperative service providers. These events and dynamics were in addition overshadowed by the contentious issue of cellulose companies. This process was ongoing at the end of the study period and the state government had taken a very different political stance than the movement. The increased acrimony in the re-nationalisation process, especially in 2005, led to a deterioration of relations between government and social movement and meant that the positive agendas of enhancing participatory institutions, reforming OSE and implementing IRWM were not undertaken in a collaborative way. CNDAV temporarily gained procedural power in a commission in Parliament but was sidelined at the point of decision making. The result was that the DINASA was created without substantial impact by the movement beyond the impact of the referendum itself.

Considering the objectives of the referendum, the creation of a national water law remained unresolved in the study period. The rights created through the constitutional reform still required enablement and implementation in the form of a national water law. After the referendum the movement sector intended to invigorate this process in the form of public legislative campaigns. In addition, proposals to the reform of the management of OSE were elaborated and proposed. But in the end, such strategies for the re-organisation of OSE were not undertaken by CNDAV in a concert effort. Mainly FFOSE and UTEA worked on utility reform. There remained a major gap between the objectives and hopes of radical transformation of state structures and the failure of substantial participatory transformation of OSE. There was disillusionment. On the one hand it was possible to establish CNDAV as legitimate representative body but on the other it did not wield power to act in the organic structure of state hierarchies and water sector policy making. The state established facts with COASAS and refused to develop the level of participation that the movement sector envisioned. In summary, the remark by a local CNDAV activist is telling “with the vote we thought we had won but now we see we need to keep fighting” (Achkar, 05.06.2006).

#### **New roles for the movements: knowledge, capacities and representation**

Nevertheless, CNDAV understands itself as the implementation agent for the new constitutional framework and as the legitimate representation of social demands. This is the

case even though CNDAV was not able to position itself in a decisive manner within the policy processes of the hierarchies of the state and was not successful in building a successful counter-hegemonic movement project for the reform of the public utility. Instead, the political project of the government and the state projects within the ministry and OSE took hold of the transformation processes.

The organisational development and building of capacities, self-knowledge and expert knowledge are recognised as important tasks by movement actors. The movement organisations understand constitutional reform as the horizon and the vision is to move closer step by step. In order to do so it needs to become capable to fulfil the new roles. The movement had internal difficulties in the horizontal space of CNDAV in 2005 and entered a more particularistic phase where the single members of CNDAV concentrated on their specific fields of interest and expertise. The environmental NGO worked more on resource management and the union on OSE. While this was strategically useful in order to concentrate resources and expertise, it also reduced the overall articulation of the movement bloc and weakened the cohesion of the movement project. This was also due to a certain crisis of representation within the movement bloc.

The 64.7% support for the referendum entailed a high level of legitimacy for CNDAV to act as interlocutor of popular interest. But over time it was harder to play that card in negotiations with government, especially because mobilisations were not easy to trigger when they were needed. The state and the state government therefore could take over the control of the reform process in a way that did not fundamentally change the relations between society and the state. Even if the relations of power were favourable to the movement in the years just after the referendum, the referendum vote alone had not changed the institutional order of things and therefore had only affected the relations of power but not their condensation in state apparatuses. Therefore, the logic of the state could supersede the movement project.

### **Sector transformation and new pro-public selectivity**

Nevertheless, the sector has been transformed substantially even if there has been a significant dilution of the content of the constitutional reform. There is today an outstanding strategic selectivity of the Uruguayan water sector for pro-public transformation. The utility reforms under way in 2006 are marked by a fundamental discursive shift towards a public service ethos and its implementation through the social policy office. The Vector programme



was undertaken with in-house resources instead of external consultancy because of the pressure and suggestions by movement actors. The new governance structures are bound to the values and norms of the new constitution and unbundle old sector problems in order to create new water legislation, albeit with less emancipatory content than envisioned in the referendum campaign. Pilot projects on participatory resource management at river basin level were underway and different projects by DINASA and the movement were competing. Key sector challenges of investment and management reform and hard issues of international market-conform and therefore partial de-nationalisations and the problematic export-oriented accumulation strategies, exemplified by the cellulose case, remain. Nonetheless, the sector has been set on a new path of development and social actors have taken up new roles.

### **Movement-centred change of utility management**

The change process in OSE is dependent on the stable political environment and political framework of the leftwing state government. The legal restriction, internal barriers, slow process of evolution of new ideas and multiple problems in OSE mean that it is a slow and painful process. Making it more difficult is the fact that there is no societal-political project as such by CNDAV, even though the opening state structures under the new government do allow for more participation but on a limited level. The change management is not politicised by the social sphere but remains a state authority led process. Given that there is no mobilisation and little power for the movement and a stable public sector and a political transformation I think this is understandable. It does however mean that the more progressive forms of political articulation between state, public sector and organised society are thwarted and that more profound democratisation is dependent on political parties more than on movement articulation. The changes that do occur internally are perceived as too “technocratic” and do not gain large social support. And the access to participation that exists for the union stems more from a national concession to trade unions by government than success in the political field itself.

### **Politicised participation**

At the same time the CNDAV cannot turn the sector around against the will of the political class or the lethargy of the sector institutions. As result, while the referendum fully anchored the pro-public project in the socio-political conjuncture in Uruguay, the embedding of the project in state structures has been slower and riddled with difficulties and setbacks. Indeed,

there has been a definite take-over of the transformation process by sector elites and the reform content was diluted as a result. The political process of transformation and the results in terms of new forms of participation did not yield the progressive outcomes the movement had wanted. Indeed, the proposals that CNDAV had forwarded in the informal parliamentary commission were to a large extent not heeded and the COASAS implemented only an ineffective form of participation by civil society and users. The project for politicised participation has therefore not yielded deeper restructuring of state-society relations.

Since the election of the Broad Front and the constitutional reform in 2004, the movement organisations have accompanied and influenced state action of public sector reform and affected the restructuring of state institutions, utility reform and policy formulation on resource management. Despite the substantial transformation of the water sector since the successful referendum, CNDAV in the first two years after the referendum CNDAV remained mostly entangled in defensive struggles rather than moving to a creative and protagonist role. That was the outspoken strategic aim of CNDAV after successful changing of the constitution. The movement did however gain a substantive level of actor recognition and could at least temporarily open political spaces with the government. Therefore, there was a partial movementisation of sector politics and politicised forms of participation did take place as a result of the successful referendum. The impact of the social movements was decisive at the point of the referendum while politicised forms of participation occurred in Parliament, the utility and at the level of the ministry. By these means, the movement actors kept influencing the sector in substantive but reactive ways throughout the study period. Overall, the case therefore demonstrates that politicised participation is a contingent socio-political and cultural process that is as politicised as it is technical.

### **Strategic considerations for the national movement**

It was a considerable moment of movement power in 2004, when the relatively small group of social actors in CNDAV drafted and passed the constitutional reform. It is clear today that the challenge in the aftermath of that success lies in designing and implemented the new path of development that was opened through the constitutional reform. The government, argues Mr. Genta (06.06.2006), is now charged with implementating but cannot act in full accordance with the desires of civil society. What this evaluation stands for is that the government does not intend to meet the demands of the movement in respect to participation and deep restructuring of the modalities of the sector. What is at stake in the aftermath of the



referendum therefore is the depth of transformation that can be implemented on the basis of the new path of development opened with the referendum.

**Summary of the key tasks for the movement sector at the end of the study period:**

- Reverse the trend whereby the pro-public elements of movement politics are sidelined by defensive, anti-privatisation elements and assure that WATSAN service reform is not overshadowed by the cellulose conflict.
- Develop and articulate a movement project for utility reform and generate formal and informal means of participation within the company.
- Reverse the take-over of state logic in the overall implementation process.
- Re-invigorate the transformation of the social movement organisation into a contentious but propositional and intervening actor that is integrated into the organisational field.

The strategic picture in 2005 found a clear expression during the Blue October events from the 26<sup>th</sup> to the 28<sup>th</sup> of October, when the electoral success was discussed as “not enough power for revolution, so we concentrate on our primary objectives of small steps in water sector reform” (Rosa, 06.06.2006). This required, according to Carmen Sosa (04.06.2006), the articulation and common action of all social and political groups, let them be parties, unions or social movements.

**The need to re-politicise sector transformation permanently**

The barriers of change lie not only in the differences between government and movement projects but also in the entrenched systems of old that suffuse the sector and require de-construction. The strategic question therefore is how to influence government and impact on state power in a way that changes the social relations of power and transforms the materiality of the state, in other words its forms of intervention, representation and internal articulation. This process has been sidelined, to the detriment of the movement’s propositional potential, because the political process has been dominated by defensive issues around de-privatisation. The left government coalition has shown a level of disregard to movement demands, especially in specific hard issues such as power devolution in participatory mechanisms in DINASA or de-privatisation.

The results are a 'technocratisation' of the restructuring and transformation processes and a widening gap between movement expressions and sector change. In consequence, the change process is under threat from the multiple resistances to change, either from the political project of the government, or the materiality of the state, such as the internal barriers of change within the utility. Counterpoised to these threats are the political openings through the discursive shift in the water sector and the constitutional assignment. The social movement on that basis has and needs to change its roles and forms of articulation and political intervention. As was shown, this occurred with partial success but also with serious setbacks.

### **Meet exigencies of new roles**

The movement coalition has to further strategically develop its organisation and self-understanding from being an external agent to the sector to being an accepted and formalised, though rebellious conveyor belt of collective and popular interest in the sector. For that to happen, CNDAV needs to secure its membership base and its horizontal form of organisation and needs to find ways to trigger citizen and workers' participation and develop a culture of participation. This interventionist strategy requires expert knowledge and support such as was given in the development of the referendum proposal and water resource management. On OSE, one can argue that UTEA and OSE already have the necessary skill and knowledge and internal access to the public company, but what is lacking is a movement project that can articulate these into concrete demands. Such has indeed occurred in the case of the social policy office and this sort of input needs to be extended while other forms of participation beyond the established commissions within the company are necessary to widen the impact of the movement inside OSE.

The government criticises the movement for lack of expert knowledge and legitimacy and its hidden inter-relation with party politics. These issues are the strategic challenges for the movement, while the government critique as such needs to be considered with care. In terms of resource management, the strategy of contentious pilot projects seemed an effective means in 2005,. However the core strategic question seemed to be how to upscale these pilots and generate a national policy debate where the movement sector could position itself as driving force and interlocutor of popular interest.

The relation between the movement and utility reform can be improved if CNDAV or single members gain more political space in OSE. Genta (06.06.2006) pointed out that the



government will not and cannot be expected to fulfil movement expectations without receiving sustained pressure and input from the movements. At the same time, the government aims at incorporating the movements into the new procedures and structures of the sector in a cooperative way. This is a contradiction inherent in politicised participation. The movements need to position themselves carefully in this dialectic of cooperation and contention. In turn the movement requires a more widespread level of grassroots involvement, on the basis of diffusion of information and capacity building.

### **Need for strategic planning and review**

Overall, it is clear that the weaknesses and critical points for the movement sector derive from on the one hand from the difficulties of engaging in state hierarchies and on the other from organisational and strategic limitations. Politically, in the years just after the inception of the leftwing government, it was difficult for any leftist actor in Uruguayan politics to criticise the new leftwing government coalition, making protest and public pressure difficult and unpopular routes to take for the movement. Certainly, the period under research was not sufficiently used for movement reflection and strategic projection towards the future. Indeed, in discussion with movement members about this finding of the research it became clear that the FFOSE had also realised this and planned to debate internal reorganisation and strategic refocusing in the next union congress that was to be held in October of 2006.

During the study period CNDAV had a strategy of capacity building in workshops and through expert support and was looking for more integrated forms of action in its work on OSE reform. Nevertheless, I found that there was a lack of space for reflection, planning and strategising, and review of internal movement building of capacity and knowledge. This became clear on the issue of how to implement what forms of participatory governance in DINASA and management in OSE. On the issue of river basin management expert knowledge was more developed, since expert support from the university and NGO resources were present. Local mobilisation and intervention was inactive at the time of the research, while some significant exceptions were found. The 'Commission Oeste' in Montevideo and the movement in Maldonado are two examples.

## **8.5. Typology theory development**

### **Summary of findings expressed in contingent generalisations**

The list of lessons learned from this case study does not unnecessarily repeat the lessons that were listed in the previous case analysis but gives an overview of specific novel insights of this case study.

- A constitutional reform by movement organisations can be a projection screen for the movement discourse and a tool in the political struggle; it offers a positive movement myth
- Constitutional reform generates concrete strategic possibilities by anchoring a pro-public approach.
- Through a successful campaign, the movement organisation(s) turn into a legitimate representative of popular will.
- It is a strategic task to fill such a role and to maintain it through meaningful representation, organisational development and knowledge/capacity building over time.
- The movement's self-perception can include the changing of roles in the implementation phase but the organisational development of the movement after decision-points can enter particularist and disarticulated phases that do not engender a coherent and effective counter-hegemonic project on the different areas of sector change.
- The generation of alternative proposals and their implementation by the movement sector require input from experts and the diffusing of expert knowledge within the movement
- The process by which new state apparatuses are created conditions its final form and content. If the process does not occur through direct impact by politicised participation of movement actors, the new apparatuses do not resemble their project and are not likely to create higher forms of participation. Such participation requires mobilisation and capacity by social movements to engage in policy processes.
- Political spaces of informal character are risky for movements as they can be used by the bloc in power to sidetrack the movement.
- The bloc in power can take over control of the transformation process and dilute the reform content to make it fit with its accumulation strategy and political form (The PSP



settlement was market-conform instead of constitution-conform; and participation was only created at a low level)

- The scope of change that can be created through a constitutional reform is open to a struggle over meaning between competing social forces. The government, with its access to state resources and the resistance to change and autonomy of the state itself, hinders the movement project from implanting its meaning.
- Utility reform on the basis of such a movement project and embedding in constitutional changes requires formalised and informal means of movement articulation in the organisation of the utility. Therein, the different movement actors specify their positionalities within the organisational politics.

### **Generalised pathway**

I now develop a generalised pathway for the case study (Diagram 7). As in the previous case study, the pathway fits the data tightly and is part of the typology theory development. It is linked to the typology matrix that I present further below. Because it is developed inductively from the data, it adds to the analytical scheme new elements that have emerged from the data analysis. The case-specific pathway is presented in the same way as the interim pathways (Diagram 5, Diagram 6 and Diagram 7). It is divided by a colour scheme into primary codes, which are similar to the primary codes of the matrix but do not correspond entirely. This is because the matrix divides and distinguishes more conceptually whereas the pathway presents a tool of presentation of temporal progression.

The pathway is similar to the pathways developed for the Peruvian case study. It is distinguished mainly by its more elaborate steps in the crystallisation phase. Crystallisation is the significant characteristic in this pathway because the implementation after the referendum was marked by a re-adjustment of the new pro-public water discourse and political project.

The differences between the Peruvian and Uruguayan pathways reflect the differences in the empirical cases, while its similarities point to commonalities. Commonalities are found in the categories of movement building and proposal development; and also in the centrality of decision point(s) and the changing role of SMOs. Now I focus on a description of this specific case pathway but I will further compare the pathways of the different cases in more detail in Chapter 10.

The pathway shows that in the political process in Uruguay, there was a definite *take-over* of the implementation phase by state actors and broader civil society. The government and the bloc in power have *diluted the reform*, and the social movement organisations had to *critically accommodate* for this political reality. I have called this readjustment of the transformation process after the referendum the *crystallisation* of reform. Indeed, the crystallisation begins after the first step in *alternative restructuring*, the decision point, which stands for the referendum. This decision point is two decisions in one: an anti-private and pro-private decision at the same time. The pathway shows how this decision was reached, through the phases of *opposition*, marked by *resistance*, *movement building* and the *alternative proposal*. The starting points of the matrix are *contextual factors* of WATSAN sector reform, the *national political context* and the *transnational movements* that have influenced the struggle in Uruguay.

The *implementation* is a central code in this matrix, given that the case study has focused primarily on the implementation phase after the referendum. It has led to *sector changes* and *utility reform* but also to new political spaces after the referendum, in other word *post-decision political spaces*. Such as the informal dialogue space in parliament in 2005, to name the most important one for CNDAV. The consequence 'down the line of the decision, dilution of reform and implementation is the changing role of SMOs, which leads to new elements of movement building. This indeed is drawn as a loop between *political space*, *changing roles* and *movement building*. The pathway stops here and turns back on itself to centre on implementation. The reasons for this is that the political process in the study period has not yet reached another possible stage, as for example a new movement phase of resistance to the implementation.



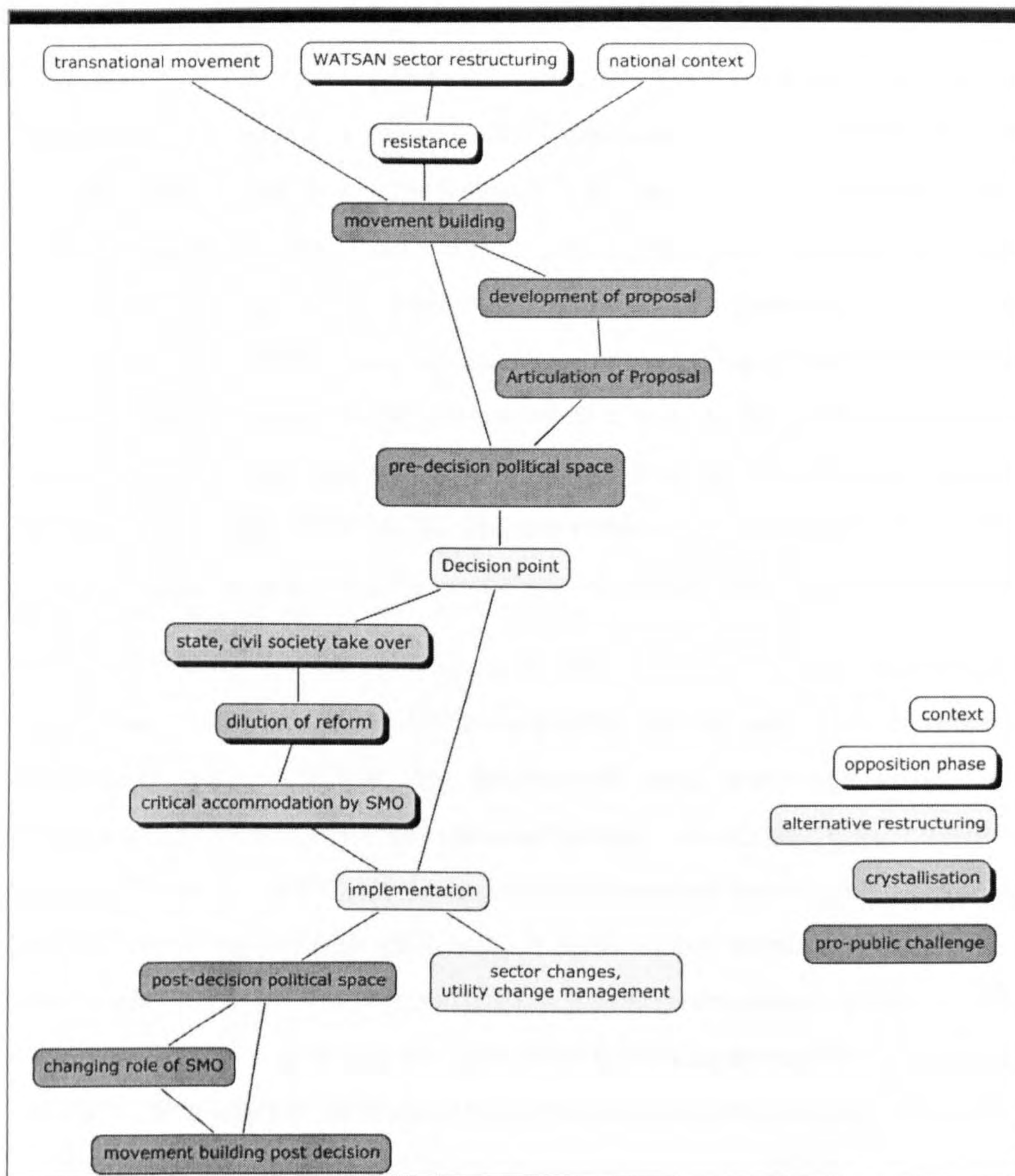


Diagram 7 Case-specific general pathway Uruguay

## Matrix analysis

The matrix systemises the categories of the generalised pathways and furthermore synthesises the qualitative analysis for the case study. As was the case for the matrix of the previous case study on Peru and Huancayo, it is based on and is part of the typology theory development that I started in Chapter 7. The matrix is the basic order in which the case analysis has been undertaken and which the case analysis developed. All aspects of the matrix have been worked on in the narrative and analysis and therefore the matrix stands as a summary result of the case study that will be developed as an analytical tool further on in the compound analysis and theory development in the following Chapter 10.



Temporal phases and primary categories		Background and context		Opposition/Resistance to hegemonic restructuring			Challenge for public alternative		
Secondary categories, elements	POS:	transnational movement networks,	water sector	Precipitating Factors	Hegemonic Restructuring	Type of Movement	Movement Building	<u>Qualitative shift of movement</u>	Changing Role of SMOs
						Resistance	Movement building post decision	<u>Political space pre- and post-decision</u>	Framing Post-decision
							Transnational Civil Society		
Alternative Proposal									
Alternative Restructuring									
Development of alternative proposals		Framing	Form/content of proposal	Articulation of Proposal	Implementation of alternative path of development		key problems of restructuring		Sector changes
					Decision Point		weaknesses and critical points of movement sector		UCM
Power and state-society relation									
Crystallisation of pro-public path				Power and state-society relation					
<u>Post-decision fuzzy moment</u>		<u>Strategy post referendum</u>		<u>Dilution of reform content</u>		<u>Sector Elites /government take-over of change processes</u>		Representation	
		<u>Short- and long-term debate about details and character of reform process and objectives</u>		new left government		<u>Critical accommodation by movement</u>		Movement impact	
								Politicised Participation	

Table 6 Case-specific matrix Uruguay



The matrix includes, compared to the initial matrix in Chapter 7, a number of new or modified elements. These categories new to this case-specific matrix are underlined in the matrix. They include categories focusing on the implementation phase such as “political space pre- and post-decision”. New insights from the in-case analysis here can be placed in the new categories of decision point and take-over of change process and critical accommodation by the movement. As the case study focused on the dynamics during the implementation process, also now the categories developed can now better explain these moments of movement events. I will further discuss this modified case specific matrix when I compare the case study findings of this case study with the findings of the Peruvian case in Chapter 10. I will do so also by means of a final matrix that combines the results of the two case studies. On the basis of the final matrix, I will develop a set of contingent generalisations for the process of pro-public challenges.

## **8.6. Case study conclusions**

The constitutional reform in the year 2004 has led to fundamental changes in the path of development of the Uruguayan water sector. The transformation process has seen the implementation of new institutions, legislation and changes in utility management and of water resource management. It was demonstrated that this has been a contradictory and contingent political process where the role and impact of the social movements has differed over time. The movement organisations recognise the exigencies of these new roles but find it difficult to develop adequate strategies and capacities, despite the accumulation of expert knowledge and a considerable actor acceptance in the organisational field.

There is a struggle over meaning about the new constitution where the social movement pose their projection of democratisation water against the powerful bloc in power, represented by the national government and sector officials. Their political project for the sector took precedence over the movement project in the course of implementation. The barriers to change in the sector, the privileged role of state actors and the materiality of the state have been factors in this take-over.

Notwithstanding the reduction of power to act of the movement after the decisive policy victory of the referendum campaign, the transformation of the sector has been significant. That was possible because the new constitution anchored the new pro-public discourse in the state structures and affected social relations of power. This did not however prevent a dilution and re-adjustment of the pro-public approaches during the implementation process and their

cooptation and functionalisation for the strategies of power and accumulation by the government and the bloc in power. Overall, CNDAV in its permanence and legitimate interlocution of popular interest is a novel form of social expression. It is an organisational expression of social movements that promoted the overcoming of political divides between politics of consumption, production and the environment within a discourse of democratisation of public water.

The presented case of the Uruguayan referendum and its early implementation phase has offered insights into the movement project of constitutional reform and consequent radical reformism of the water sector in Uruguay. It shed light on how bottom-up processes develop alternative proposals embedded in strategies of rights creation through normative fixation in the form of constitutional reform. The referendum proved an effective popular tool for the defence of the public sector and also as the basis for a pro-public reform path.

The case has also demonstrated the organisational, strategic and political problems social movements can encounter when they turn into implementing agent of political projects after such successful creation of new normative frameworks. It clearly demonstrates that it is possible to engender a democratisation process at governance level and at management level and thereby generate a new state inclination and government policy of pro-public transformation. The popular resistance and referendum campaign, the alternative proposals to implement the new constitution in areas of governance and management, are significant milestones for the Uruguayan water movements and have influenced in important ways the wider transnational water justice networks.

The case of Uruguay shows that via the route of constitutional reform, national social movement coalitions of citizens and workers can build a pro-public challenge. It also demonstrated however that the implementation after the successful referendum was as much political as it was technical. Thus a powerful movement project requires sustained articulation, organisation, capacity and capabilities.



## **9. Cross-case and combined analysis of public water struggles**

*The compound analysis, findings and results of the thesis are directed to answering the research questions that asked about the role and influence of social movements in urban WATSAN sector reform and specifically inquired into the political process of movementisation of sector reform (see Chapter 4). I will focus on answering the question in the conclusion chapter (Chapter 11) while in this chapter I develop the detailed findings, discussion on findings and results. This chapter starts with developing the research findings. Firstly, the discursive framework at transnational level, that is considered in accordance to the case study results. Secondly, the findings of the case studies are developed through a comparative and compound analysis. On that basis, the conceptual framework is reviewed and the research results are presented in the form of typology theory, which includes a final matrix, generalised pathway and contingent generalisations. The chapter ends with a description of the concept of pro-public challenge and related movement strategies.*

### **9.1. Research findings**

#### **The discourse frame of the transnational water movements**

##### **The frame of democratisation towards emancipatory public-community water**

I have argued that the discourse of the global water justice movement has developed a frame of convergence in which the initially restricted anti-privatisation vision of the movement shifted qualitatively to what I call a pro-public approach and a challenge for public water. This frame of democratisation towards emancipatory public-community water for all involves the following core elements (see Diagram 3):

- the human right to water
- water as a public good and a commons
- revitalisation of public service and public finance
- public, community-based non-commercialised management and governance
- effective participation in all stages of planning, management and control
- ecosystems approach on the basis of hydrological cycle and basin management
- critique of predominant development models
- cultural values of water

## **The qualitative shift in movement discourse as foundation**

A key finding was that the movement discourse moved away from simplified invocation of the state and increasingly realized its own agency, role and impact and referred to the public, state and community in more differentiated and realistic terms. This represents a qualitative shift in the global movement expressions that marked a new phase in discourse development. Despite the concretisation of movement discourse in that regard, I have argued that the political process of radical transformation of the sector remained a 'black box' in movement discourse. The appraisal found a difficult and unresolved trajectory of movement debate and (self-) reflection about the state, the public and community. Public service delivery systems and the entanglement of social movement in struggles for appropriation of these were found to be invoked rather than reflected concretely and critically.

The consequence of this lack of concreteness can be identified, on the basis of the case studies' findings, as the relative disorganisation and incomplete strategic development of movement capabilities, capacities, movement repertoires and expert knowledge. The organisational development of transnational movement networks and local organisations has been wanting in self-reflection and sector relevance and therefore could not adapt to the exigencies of constructive resistance, long-term intervention and politicised participation in an adequate form. Such development is however necessary in order to seek effective results and impact and to prevent cooptation at global and local level.

## **The validity of the discourse frame**

One of the purposes of the case study design was to check the scope of validity of this discourse formation of the transnational water movement sector. Both cases have demonstrated the validity of the political discourse and political project of the water movement sector that seeks transformation of public delivery systems and the creation of emancipatory public alternatives. This occurred, as the conceptual framework proposed, through the qualitative change of resistance to appropriation-oriented struggle and the politicised participation of the social movement in water sector organizations.

Both case studies have also confirmed the qualitative shift from resistance to a mode of articulation of alternative proposals. In the case of Uruguay this occurred in the form of the referendum campaign and later also in the proposals during the implementation process. In that way, the movement acted in forms of intervention that could drive transformation of



social relations and state structures. It is in the same way that the qualitative shift, that I have drawn out for example with the learning processes of FENTAP and the Front in Huancayo, correlate with this analysis. Both cases also correlate with the qualitative changes of discourse at the global level and show that the learning processes of the movement and the qualitative organisational and strategic shifts, which I postulated at transnational level, are necessary elements for the operationalisation of a movement project also at the local-national level.

### **Correlations between discourse at transnational and movement events at local level**

Indeed, both case studies disclose and corroborate at the local-national level the transnational convergence frame of 'water as a public good and as a commons' and 'democratisation and (re-) vitalisation of public and community alternatives'. The local and national water struggles represent, are aligned to and further develop the transnational discourse. Also correct at local and national level was the observation at transnational level that the propositional discourse elements, i.e. the focus on revitalization of the public sector have been gaining importance and relevance. Just as at transnational level, the discourse foundations at local level were found to be anti-corporate viewpoints, which only through the process of movement development and struggle merged into more concrete and sector specific discourses on public water. Specific to Uruguay are the early inclusion of a water resource perspective in the movement frame and its early focus on technical interventions in the sector.

Democratisation can be said to be a common denominator and empty signifier for the movements at all levels. In both case studies, the propositional movement myth of 'public water democratisation' was the basis on which the movements built a counter-hegemonic strategy of implementation. This strategy links into the conceptual frame of emancipatory public alternatives and politicised participation of social movements. Both at transnational and local-national level, the challenges of water movements are similar. They aim to enhance the self-perception of the movements' agency, role, impact and potentials and in developing more concrete and critical understanding of the democratisation and revitalisation of public and community water.

The struggle by CNDAV demonstrates that movements can effectively change the overall sector framework by constitutional reform. It also shows that such is merely a first step that requires long-term movement intervention in state hierarchies and governance structures. The Huancayo front and FENTAP also demonstrated in more detail how movements develop

expert knowledge in collective learning processes and on that basis engage in such appropriation strategies. The PUP also exemplifies how a movement repertoire that is discussed in the transnational networks is handed down to the local level and used in a heuristic and pilot-project form.

The learning between the global and the local is reciprocal and a multi-scalar and multi-temporal process. The same is the case for the movements' discourse. It develops simultaneously and in an interrelated fashion at different scales and levels, inside a local Front in Huancayo, in the national union federation in Montevideo and at the temporal spaces of World Social Forums. And they go through the same trajectories and qualitative shifts. They embody the same movement demands and movement challenges and are faced with the same dilemmas, weaknesses, novelties and potentials.

### **The challenges at local-national and transnational level**

Without a doubt, the discourse analysis at global level revealed a set of core challenges for the transnational movement sector that I argued the social movements needed to elaborate further as their imperative and essential discursive elements. I can now argue that these challenges also apply for the local-national struggles for public water. At all levels, social movements for the social appropriation of water services need to develop a more self-critical perspective on their own agency, impacts, capabilities and capacities. That is the basis on which they can move from defensive perspectives to social appropriation strategies.

They need to overcome simplistic invocations of the public, the state and community and generate a more critical and balanced evaluation. This however does not mean to say that they need to change their core belief system, that of public control/democratisation of management and anti-privatisation. Instead, what it means is that in order to change public water systems, social movements need to engage in their complex realities. And indeed they are doing just that. I found in the case studies that in the course of the interaction of movement actors in sector transformation processes, the movements generate concrete and critical expert knowledge and develop and diffuse repertoires and political strategies that seek to enable, implement and expand alternatives of democratisation and revitalisation of public and community water.

Having made this favourable evaluation of the discourse development of the water movement sector, I need to make an incision. The above does not mean that the black box of the process



of change and the empty signifier of democratisation of public water were resolved. Indeed one might want to argue that they cannot be, as their function is that of a guiding myth on whose projection screen the movements exchange, articulate and mobilise across scales. The discourse is not meant to throw light into every corner of the black box and to fix the signifier to a determined meaning. Instead, the evolution of the water movement sector orientates itself on the heuristic discursive frame and further develops it through the interaction with the water sector in the local and context-specific problem solving. The case studies have demonstrated that the social movement organisations are capable of such collective learning but that they also in general lack the resources, opportunities and capacities to do so.

### **Lines of equivalence between material struggles and transnational networks**

So the vantage point of observation must be on the way that material struggles occur. Based on the analysis of these experiences, the transnational networks need to collectively learn. That is the foundation on which transnational movement networks can link to the life world of material struggles and can mobilise and build chains of equivalence. In this way, the social movement challenge for public water is read through the lenses of radical democracy of Laclau and Mouffe (2001). The transnational and local-national water movement sector has effectively created a new political frontier and can be argued to aim for a counter-hegemonic strategy for the democratisation of public water systems.

The state, the community and public systems are not a neutral terrain for that struggle. This makes it difficult for movements to create lines of equivalence in the search for new counter-hegemonic formations and strategies. These are understood to be means to generate and diffuse new forms, including forms of movement interaction with state hierarchies (politicised participation), forms of relations between the state and the economy (social appropriation) and forms of behaviour of industry (democratised governance and management). They involve the profound transformation of the existing relations of force not only in the organisational field of urban WATSAN and the material systems of public water delivery in a given polity or urban place, but also in the broader context of socio-political relations in which water systems are embedded.

Since the question of how water struggles interweave and articulate with other socio-political process is beyond the scope of consideration here, the perspective is moved back onto the construction of chains of equivalence. Certainly one way for the water movements to build

these is via the trans-local diffusion of struggles, repertoires and knowledge. In this regard however, the continuation of the black box in the movements' discourse is a hindrance that the research through its intervention hopes to and aims to shed some light into. With this remark, I move on to analyse the elements and factors that affect and influence movements in their search for the right means to fulfil their self-imposed challenge of becoming effective agents of transformation.

## **Findings on local-national struggles by a comparative case study analysis**

### **Justifying a cross-case analysis**

The case study of Peru, with its embedded case of the city of Huancayo, and the case of Uruguay were chosen via the sampling process of the typology theory. The common denominators for the case studies were that they exposed propositions that fit into the concept of social appropriation of public water systems. I use the concept of a water movement sector at local-national level, as counter-point to the transnationalisation of local-national movements. Both case studies have conformed to that concept. The cases differ in levels, with one being a national and embedded local case study whereas the other is a national case. The fact however that both move around the governance and management of a water utility, whether it be national or local, mean that in terms of scale they are comparable. Both are about the organisational behaviour of a water system whose central service provider is a state-public utility. In both cases the key political conflict is about the change in ownership, control, structure, management and discourse of the water utility; no matter if it is a local or national service provider and notwithstanding that issues of water resource management enter the political project of the social movements.

### **Systematic comparison of cases**

For the above reasons, I can evaluate the two case studies in a compound and comparative fashion. In order to do so systematically, I develop the following table (Table 7). It broadly compares the two case studies in relation to demands/discourses, political space/institutionalisation, impact /reform results, and evaluation. The table summarises relevant aspects of the case studies and thereby displays commonalities and differences of the two case studies. These factors reveal themselves when the case studies are seen, as this thesis has done, from the same conceptual perspective.



	Peru	Uruguay
<b>Demands</b>	<p>National</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• stop of PSP programme and dismantling of public service sector through neglect and mal-intention of government and state actors</li> <li>• new policies and sector programmes for modernisation of public utilities without commercialisation and privatisation</li> <li>• public finance and unconditional international loans</li> <li>• formalisation of the Human Right to Water</li> <li>• negotiation space between government and movement</li> </ul> <p>Local</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• utility reform and infrastructure development</li> <li>• stop of PSP and political misuse of utility</li> <li>• democratisation of the local utility</li> <li>• movement recognition and stop of repression</li> <li>• implementation of PUP</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In referendum campaign: transparency, effective participation and social control, social logic to stand over economic logic, water services exclusively and directly by the state</li> <li>• implementation of content of constitutional reform (governance structures, legislative changes, PSP cancellations, utility reform, resource management)</li> <li>• recognition and collaboration of state actors with movement actors as legitimate representatives of popular interests.</li> </ul>
<b>Strategies</b>	<p>National</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ConAguaYvida as movement coalition and articulation with other (union and citizen) struggles</li> <li>• legal challenges</li> <li>• articulation with parliamentarians and political parties</li> <li>• legislative proposals, collection of signatures and participation in policy debates</li> <li>• street protests and mobilisations</li> <li>• intervention in field-specific forums</li> <li>• decentralisation strategy of 'each local union a public forum, each forum to create a local front, each front to develop an alternative plan</li> </ul> <p>Local</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• protest mobilisations</li> <li>• development of alternative proposal in internal Front process of collective learning and formation</li> <li>• seeking political space to decide on alternative path of development</li> <li>• seeking support in international networks</li> <li>• partnering with strong public utility from Argentina</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CNDAV negotiations with government</li> <li>• CNDAV as conveyor belt of popular interest through campaigns and intervention in policy processes of implementation</li> <li>• creation of expert knowledge of the sector and pilot projects</li> <li>• movement members take up posts in changing sector organisations</li> <li>• intervention in utility change processes</li> </ul>



	Peru	Uruguay
	for politicised but technical support project to local utility	
<b>Political Space / Institutionalisation</b>	<p>National</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>only limited actor recognition in policy process but more so in general field</li> <li>ConaguaYvida was movement space but disarticulated after height of mobilisation</li> <li>no formalised access to policy making or institutionalisation of participation</li> </ul> <p>Local</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>actor recognition in local (water) politics</li> <li>table of concertation a potential new political space</li> <li>implementation of table thwarted by local government and civil society actors because power to act by movement in the space posed threat to local government</li> <li>formation of table in civil society</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CNDAV turned into horizontal, legitimate space of civil society articulation and negotiation</li> <li>parliamentary Commission 2005</li> <li>COASAS</li> <li>informal and formal access in national utility</li> <li>political space through pilot projects on resource management</li> </ul>
<b>Impact / Reform results</b>	<p>National</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>sector law proposals for liberalisation of sector stopped repeatedly</li> <li>most PSP projects stopped and policy slowed down</li> <li>policy adjusted but without fundamental policy shift</li> <li>threat of cooptation of human right to water in legislative process</li> <li>twelve local fronts existed in study period</li> <li>two cases of development of alternative proposals and public alternative debate diffused nationally</li> </ul> <p>Local</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>privatisation and then PSP schemes stopped. Project cancelled but that no final decision as PSP option still an option</li> <li>alternative proposal and PUP have resulted in wide public debate on the path of development but PUP hindered from taking effect, thus no utility transformation embarked on and instead further entrenching of political scenario.</li> <li>repression and counter-reaction by bloc in power</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CNDAV recognised as policy actor but with little power to act against hegemonic project of the government.</li> <li>fundamental discursive change in field towards public and de-commercialised water services and resource management</li> <li>creation of new state apparatus and thereby concentration of governance structures in DINASA</li> <li>creation of COASAS results in low level of participation and diversion of movement project of effective participation</li> <li>slow, partial and incoherent utility change processes but certainly recuperation of utility and new path of development embarked on</li> </ul>



	Peru	Uruguay
<b>Evaluation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• some local advances and successes but societal relations of power did not significantly change</li> <li>• disarticulation and lack of resources and capacities of social movements</li> <li>• local movements' difficulties to develop, articulate, and reach consensus on alternative proposals for lack of expert and NGO support and lack of input by sector professionals</li> <li>• depth of structural deficits in sector</li> <li>• decentralised sector structure offers few anchoring points for a national counter-hegemonic movement</li> <li>• local struggles have anchor points but lack power to implement alternative proposals as they are faced with repression and political distortions</li> <li>• counter-hegemonic project not anchored nor stabilised, lack of articulation and composition of movement sector</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• legal constitutional space won but filling this with legislation and institutional change problematic</li> <li>• diffusion of content of constitutional change in struggle over meaning and crystallisation of implementation process</li> <li>• utility change fundamental but slow while there is almost no concerted movement project on utility change</li> <li>• defensive struggle to stop PSP and now cellulose issue restricts potentials for public reform path</li> <li>• key problem formal access and rights in policy circles, institutional framework, movement institutionalisation in sector</li> <li>• resistance to change in sector through project of government and resistance in field institutions</li> </ul>

**Table 7 Overview of case study findings**

Considering the table, one can reason that the demands of the movements and the strategies they employ are similar and that they aim at the same goals and objectives. The primary anchoring points of the respective counter-hegemonic projects of the movements is different but the strategic objective is equivalent. Constitutional reform in the case of Uruguay and reform of the local utility of Huancayo are different points of intervention but the movement interventions in the organisational field aim at the same protection, democratisation and improvement of public services of water and sanitation. In addition, these are just the primary access points in the complex strategic field in which the movements have intervention strategies at the whole set of possible access points. The choice of primary access point for intervention of constitution or local utility depends on the problem at hand, the local context and the evaluation of political opportunities by the movements.

### **Overall appreciation**

More generally, the case studies have demonstrated how social movements not only resist privatisation but struggle for public water and drive the implementation of alternative paths of development. The political processes were evaluated and their results analysed. The case studies laid out in detail the restrained implementation of the contents of the constitutional



reform in Uruguay and the creative movement struggle in Huancayo with its disrupted and ineffective implementation of the alternative proposal in the form of the PUP in Huancayo. With the political processes, considerable impact and resulting sector transformations that were found in the case studies, I have confirmed that politicised participation and power to implement are partially accomplished by local-national social movements, when they develop struggles of appropriation of urban water services. One can postulate that the dimensions of power to act and power to implement are central conditions for pro-public challenges if they are to have an impact on water systems' governance and management. In both cases however, the movement sectors could not implant themselves permanently as propositional, creative and forceful actors against state structures, party politics and the barriers to change inside the organisational field.

Significantly the movement organisations developed a self-knowledge about their role and tasks in water politics and complemented this by developing expert knowledge, organisational capacity and strategic vision. For this, they required expert and professional support in the form of NGOs, academics and sector professionals. In Uruguay, this was found to be a mayor positive resource for the movement sector whereas in Huancayo and Peru these elements were weak points. The form of organisation of the movement sector in both cases involved progressive trade unions of the water sector collaborating in coalitions that involve various social sectors and articulated the politics of consumption, production and the environment. In this way, water struggles gained a holistic perspective and challenged established norms and discourses through critical engagement with the concrete problems and challenges of the sector. Organisational and strategic development of the movement sectors occurred in both cases via initial phases of resistance that gave rise to phases of proposal development and proposal articulation. These are elements of the pro-public challenge by social movements that are the basis for the propositional role and long-term effectiveness of movement intervention in public water systems.

Despite significant substantial impacts in both cases, the movement projects of social appropriation were not fulfilled or only partially fulfilled. In the case of Uruguay, the creative-substantive impact with the referendum success was diluted through a take-over of the transformation process by the bloc in power and resistance to change internal to the state matrix and the utility. In Huancayo, the PUP could not be put into action because of political conflict and barriers to change related to clientelism and patronage in local politics and the



utility. At national level in Peru, the movement has had important reactive substantive impacts in preventing and politicising the issue of privatisation and private sector participation but there was no policy victory and only limited actor recognition in the policy field for the movement organisations. Also, at national level the resources and opportunities for the Peruvian water movement are limited and the political project of the bloc in power has systematically repressed and overruled the movement counter-hegemonic project by superimposing a renewed pro-private discourse of water sector improvements led by the central government and Proinversión.

This however remains a perilous hegemonic strategy that has anchored its project in the state matrix and organised the hegemonic bloc around this strategy but that has not stabilised this project in the social relations of force nor in the decentralised state structures of the sector. In contrast, the pro-public Uruguayan sector transformation has been thoroughly anchored and stabilised through the referendum and the ensuing legislative, institutional and utility change implementation, while remaining open to definition of meaning and content on resource management. This is the case even if the concrete results of the implementation do not fully represent the movement's objectives, intentions and vision. They were adjusted to the interests of the bloc in power and its hegemonic project within the scope of potential meaning that was set by the constitutional amendments.

### **Implications for social appropriation struggles**

Social appropriation through the radical reform and democratisation of water systems was the horizon of movement activation and strategising. In both cases, the courses of movement challenge experienced qualitative shifts related to the discursive move from defensive to appropriation struggles. The intervention in hierarchies of the state and institutions of the organisational field required the movement organisations in Uruguay and Peru to become knowledgeable, recognised and propositional transmission belts for popular interests. The de-radicalisation of demands and expectations in the course of the political process of sector transformation occurred in both cases, but in different ways.

In Uruguay, CNDAV learned that the implementation of the spirit of the referendum campaign was not going to be straightforward in the political conjuncture of 2005 and 2006 but remained firm on the general framework of public water being effectively implanted in the sector. In Peru, the success in preventing privatisation in 2006 was marred by the failure to

implement and effectively operationalise the PUP in 2007 and 2008. The movement therefore re-focused on defensive strategies to prevent a renewed attempt of privatisation and re-adjusted its strategy to slowly building a civil society articulation in favour of the PUP plans.

The political practices of social appropriation struggles in the field of urban WATSAN have therefore had limited but significant impact. The case studies have elaborated on the difficulty and central importance of constructing and maintaining power to act by movement organisations throughout the process of radical reform of sector institutions, organisations, policies and practices. One key aspect in this regard is the need for better and more constructive articulation and cooperation between social movements and sector professionals, both within state apparatuses and outside of these. Also, social movements need to collectively learn to better articulate local struggles both downwards to subaltern groups and upwards to transnational networks.

## **9.2.Re-considering the conceptual framework according to the findings**

### **Movements, politicised participation, the state and political space**

The conceptual framework fruitfully combines social movement theory with the concept of radical reformism and considers urban water and sanitation system as a conflictive field, in which social movements can enscribe themselves through strategies of social appropriation. Politicised participation captures the contentious intervention in governance and management of water systems by urban social movements. It was demonstrated in the empirical analysis that this can take place in instantaneous but also prolonged and in both informal and formal forms, and moves between the hierarchies of the state and the horizontal networks of new social movements. These socio-political perspectives invoke conceptual approaches of social movement articulation, new state-society relations and the impact of social movements on statehood and in particular (state) public systems of public service provision. Empirical evidence presented supports the argument that these are linked to the notion of political space, in which social movements can gain recognition as actors and have access to policy and thereby develop (new) forms of representation and articulation. These in turn can, if and when social movements can reach power to implement, change relations of power in society.

### **Qualitative change from defensive to appropriation struggles**

Such a conceptual framework allows for the definition of water struggles either as defensive struggles or as appropriation struggles. The consequence of such a distinction is that



movement politics can be considered according to its politically conscious characteristic of aiming towards social transformation that involves the restructuring of the materiality of the state and the social relations it condenses. The research found that such appropriation strategies, if they are to radically reform the organisational field of urban WATSAN, have to articulate in strategies inside and outside of the state. This is because they need to generate dynamics of mobilisation and politicisation that influence societal formation as well as state forms. In addition to transformation of societal relations of production, reproduction, gender and societal relations of nature, the reconstruction of the state matrix can therefore be considered as the aim of social movements.

On the basis of the empirical evidence, a principle can be determined that labour, ecology and (rights to) public services are perspectives that (have to) articulate in movement strategies. Social appropriation was employed as a concept to denote such movement strategies and objectives. It refers to currently existing social movement dynamics and forms of social and political struggle around urban water and sanitation and its commodification and privatisation. It considers the prevailing demands and movement frames centring on the protection of (Fordist) public service state structures, the customary system of water supply and protection of citizen rights. In addition, it draws an emancipatory horizon of social transformation that is engrained in and goes beyond real-existing reformist strategies. Social appropriation was successfully employed to analyse struggles that aim to change the state matrix, the definition of the needs of production and distribution, and the question of the form of public authorities and state structures that deliver public goods and services.

### **Politicised participation**

The agency of social movement in protecting and transforming public water systems in the above sense is conceptualised under the header of politicised participation in state institutions, legislative frameworks and sector organisations. The case studies have demonstrated the need for collaboration and productive intervention and engagement by social movements with the institutions of the water sector. Put more precisely, horizontal networks of water movements are required to interact with hierarchies of state and public institutions. The analytical concept of movement-reform interaction was derived from that theoretical insight. Exigencies of politicised participation thereby be considered as the development of new capacities, forms of organisation, political spaces and strategies in order to engage autonomously and constructively with public authorities and sector organisations.

## **The movement sector and the emancipatory project**

Another starting point for the research that was applied effectively in the data analysis was the concept of the urban water movement sector. It comprises those actors who struggle over and demand the protection of the public character of water and the human right to water in opposition to privatisation and commercialisation of water services. The basic features of the movement sector are common mobilisation and political consciousness. For pro-public contexts, the empirical evidence suggests that movement visions and strategies for the defence of public water can develop into strategies of social appropriation. These have been found to involve demands for the innovation and democratisation of public services through movement intervention in the reform processes. In this way, the movement sector can challenge discourses, norms and structures of the sector.

The research found that emancipatory movement projects emanate from the resistance of subaltern classes. Counter-hegemonic strategies for the democratisation of public water systems were found to be based in the popular-democratic struggles in the spheres of the state, society and the economy. These are driven by political antagonisms and builds, through articulation of interests and identities, equivalences between social actors that organise social groups.

## **Anchoring of projects in WATSAN state structures**

In Chapter 2, urban WATSAN systems were considered as the intermingling of material, social and symbolic things, centred on the institutions, organisations, daily practices, material infrastructure and the environment. One basic concept of the conceptual framework is the material state theory understanding of the state as social relation and condensation of social relations of force. Productive and regulative systems of public services are therefore material structures of the state with systemic functions for capitalist (re-)production and controlled through state power. Both case studies have shown the validity of the figure of state apparatuses as crystallisations of past political struggles, as was discussed for example for the state agency of Proinversión in Peru. Importantly, state apparatuses were found to be potential anchoring points for new counter-hegemonic projects. This anchoring of the movement project was in fact an easier task to achieve in the case of Uruguay because the economic apparatuses of the state in the field of water services offer a more direct target than



in Peru. In Uruguay, the sector comprises primarily OSE whereas in Peru the decentralised nature of the sector means that movements have to deal with multiple access points.

### **Alternatives move into perspective**

In correlation with the conceptual framework, the findings show that change can occur on the basis of societal contestation and conflict over public goods. The political process of sector transformation was found to build on the re-politicisation of participation that understands participation as a form of creative social resistance and intervention that opens social and political space for alternatives. And in Uruguay and Peru this involved a process of envisioning and development of doable, sustainable and effective alternatives to state and market failure. These entail the transformation of state-society relations as the mediation space changes between movements, citizens, governments and state officials. The case studies allow for the generalisation that politicised participation can lead to alternative forms of provision and production of public services and transformation of the overall conditions of production.

In summary, the findings of the case studies and the participant observation at transnational level have supported the conceptual framework and its central assumption that radical reformism and social appropriation are approaches for the democratisation from below of public goods that affect the redistribution of societal wealth and social rights.

### **9.3. Research results: Typology theory of pro-public challenges**

The aim of the typology theory in this thesis was to guide the case studies, evaluate the scope of validity of the transnational movement discourses and to develop theoretical insights into the social phenomena at hand. The first objective was already reached in the process of research, as the case studies were informed by the typology theory in accordance with the methodological considerations of George and Bennett (George and Bennett, 2005). The scope of validity was considered a minor objective that was not fully integrated into the research project since it would have required such a different research set-up; that it was not feasible to both develop theory and to evaluate the scope of validity of the movement discourses within the scope and format of a PhD thesis. So the evaluation of the validity of the discourse of the transnational movements became a secondary objective.

#### **The general typology and its application for further research**

As drawn out in section 9.1, it was found that the case studies adhere to the discourse framework established for the transnational movement sector and therefore confirm its

validity. In order to check the actual scope of that validity of the concept of pro-public challenge however, a larger series of case studies will be required in an outward sampling method. In fact, this is a result of the research in the form of a research recommendation. The thesis offers theoretical guidance for further research on the scope of validity of the movement discourse by setting out the first typology in Box 8 and developing the discriminatory factor of movement-reform interaction and pro-public challenge.

The general typology (Box 8) distinguishes between more 'traditional' anti-privatisation strategies, strategies of de-privatisation and strategies for public sector reform. It serves as a conceptual framework for water movement events in general. It also serves to distinguish general movement events from pro-public challenges, by means of the concept of movement-reform relation which stands in the form of a pro-public challenge at the heart of the discourse of the transnational water justice movement. It is the following sub-types of the general typology whose existence in case study populations can confirm and assess the scope of validity of the movement discourse:

- re-communalisation, re-nationalisation, re-municipalisation
- drive for (organisational) change
- pre-privatisation enhancement and/or restructuring drive
- post de-privatisation recuperation and restructuring

### **Overview of development of the analysis**

The typology theory has, on the basis of the general typology and its further development into the typology matrix, developed a comparative analytical framework that was the basis for the generation of knowledge for the theory-building on the role of movement events in water sector reform in general, and for the concept of movement-reform relation more specifically. In that regard, the typology has yielded coherent and informative results that are now presented in the form of the final matrix, the final pathways and contingent generalisations. The theoretical insights of the research in the form of this set of results can be employed as a set of research outputs that can serve as an analytical framework for further in-case and comparative research on water movements. As a result, the tools I have developed with the help of the typology theory are useful and coherent analytical tools for approaching the real world of water movements by researchers and by movements alike.



As a short overview of the analytical development in the typology theory, I want to explain that in the case studies I developed as a first step the generalised pathways and on their basis developed the case-specific matrixes. This was a strategy that considered that the pathways allowed for a tight data fit and emerged from the data. The matrix was a result of the pathway in the sense that, as a next step, I systemised the pathways into the case specific matrixes by incorporating elements of the typology theory matrix and the case-specific pathways. For the comparative analysis in this chapter, I have gone the other way around.

This means that in the analytical step in this chapter I developed the final matrix before the pathway. I did so for two reasons. Firstly, because there is no new case study data and analytical findings that I can incorporate into the analytical scheme. Instead I aim to comparatively integrate the analytical schemes I have developed in the case studies. Secondly, because this step is more removed from data, more conceptual and occurs at an analytical level that primarily seeks integration of theoretical rather than time-sensitive codes. The effect of this approach is that the generalised pathway I develop here will concur with the matrix's codes. This means that the typology results are a coherent and systematic set of qualitative analytical considerations that can be applied to other cases in a consistent manner.

### **The final matrix**

The final matrix (Table 8) is one central output and result of the thesis. It is an analytical tool developed to express the findings of the research and to guide further research and debate about water movements. The matrix that I develop here is a composition of and advancement on all three prior matrices. It merges and streamlines the analyses of the typology theory and the case studies into one single result, whereby a new level of conceptual coherence and clarity is reached. The analytical purpose and usefulness of the matrix lie in its applicability as research and analysis tool at the same time as being the basic structure of theoretical insights that I have developed in the thesis. The matrix has progressed since the first rudimentary starting point in section 6.3. The theoretical and time-sensitive primary categories in the primary and secondary level were changed and reorganised in the course of the years-long process of research undertaking. The final set of primary categories is:

- Background and context
- Opposition and resistance
- Pro-public challenge
- Alternative proposal
- Alternative restructuring or resulting restructuring
- Crystallisation of pro-public path
- Power and state-society relations

The series of primary categories concur with the data compiled in the case studies and represent a theoretical body that considers the mid-range political process of movement-induced sector reform. It blends concepts of social movement theory, such as POS, resistance and impact, with concepts that I have developed, defined and filled out in the thesis, such as decision point, crystallisation and alternative proposal.

It is important to note that the category of 'alternative proposal' is a separate primary category even though it is also considered as part of the primary category of the 'challenge for public water'. This is because of its single importance in the political process as self-realisation tool, political strategy and discourse development of the movement sector. I found in the course of the analysis that the alternative proposal, its inception, development and articulation, is a central figure in the movement struggles for public water. Overall, the primary and secondary categories make a coherent mid-range analytical framework of the political process of appropriation struggles.

### **Application of the matrix**

I now demonstrate three major lines of interconnectedness between matrix codes (Table 8). These relations between secondary categories explain the lines of action and development in three core dynamics. Firstly, there is the organisation of social movements. The line of development flows from 'movement type', to 'movement building', 'qualitative shift', 'changing role of SMOs', and finally 'movement development as result of challenge'. This progression of movement development describes the episodes and qualitatively different stages of movement development in social appropriation struggles for water. This analytical scheme helps identify and evaluate movement organisations and their developments.

The second dynamic of social appropriation struggles that I want to highlight is about public alternatives. It starts with the 'qualitative shift of movement', and goes via 'framing', 'development of proposal', 'form/content', 'articulation', 'decision point' and 'implementation of alternative path of development', to 'dilution/blocking of reform' and 'strategy of imposition' and 'critical accommodation by movements'. This red line between the categories of the matrix expresses the essential element of movement struggles that aims to socially appropriate water services via constructive alternative proposals and engagement in their implementation.



This line in fact crosses with the third and last line I highlight, the transformation of the path of development of the water sector. That line of code progression starts at the 'hegemonic strategy and/ or restructuring' and goes via 'alternative proposal' and 'decision point' to 'alternative/resulting restructuring' and then to 'crystallisation of pro-public path'. The crossing of these two last lines means that these two progressions are inherently linked and interrelated. There is no transformation of the path of development without a public alternative.

These three lines are examples of how to read the matrix along the dynamics and process of appropriation struggles. Also noteworthy is how the matrix was the analysis field in which important insights from the data emerged in the in-case and cross-case analyses. The most important example of insights gained by the development and application of the matrix is the category of 'qualitative shift', which describes how movements shift their myth, vision and strategic outlook from defence to proposition. The category has emerged as a decisive point of inflection for the struggle in the city of Huancayo and found entrance to the matrix for the first time during the analysis of that case. On the basis of the recognition of its analytical importance, the equivalent element was looked for and also found in the Uruguayan case study as having occurred in a time sequence from the early movement expressions in 2000 to 2002 and then again with the referendum in 2004.

The matrix has been discussed as a coherent and systematic whole that can be read as a conceptual synopsis with which to approach research on water movements. The matrix therefore is more than the summary of its parts, since it compounds the single elements into a dynamic system of political process. Nevertheless, the matrix is configured by its single elements, which contain analytical values and tools that are findings and results of the research on their own accord. The matrix is the summary output of the typology theory and its elements are outputs on single facets of the political process. I have discussed the contents of each of the categories of the matrix throughout the case study chapters and therefore do not need to repeat the conceptual background and application of each of the codes at this point. Furthermore, the overall political process set out in this matrix is described in more detail in the presentation of the pathways below.



Background and context					Opposition/Resistance		Pro-Public Challenge		
Primary categories	Local, national and international POS	Transnational movement networks	Water sector	Precipitating Factors	Hegemonic strategy and/or restructuring	Type of Movement	Movement building pre- / post- decision		Changing Role of SMOs
Secondary categories						Resistance	Transnational Civil Society	Qualitative shift of movement	Political space pre- and post- decision
						Strategy to reach decisions			Framing pre-/ post-decision
						Alternative Proposal			
Development of alternative proposals	Framing	Form/ Content of proposal	Articulation of Proposal	Movement-generated tools (models/tools/ policies/ rights)	Implementation of alternative path of development / adjustment of state project to accommodate movement challenge in dominant project		Key problems of restructuring		Sector changes
					Decision Point(s) no-PSP/ pro-public		Weaknesses and critical points of movement sector		Utility transformation
Crystallisation of pro-public path						Power and state-society relation			
Post-decision fuzzy moment and immediate reconfiguration of relations of force	Strategy to impose implementation of pro-public path		Dilution or blocking of (parts of) reform content		Sector elites /government takeover of change processes		Movement impact		Politicised Participation
	Short- and long-term public debate about details and character of reform process and objectives		Changes in governance environment and new political conjunctures		Critical accommodation by movement				Representation

Table 8 Final matrix of typology theory



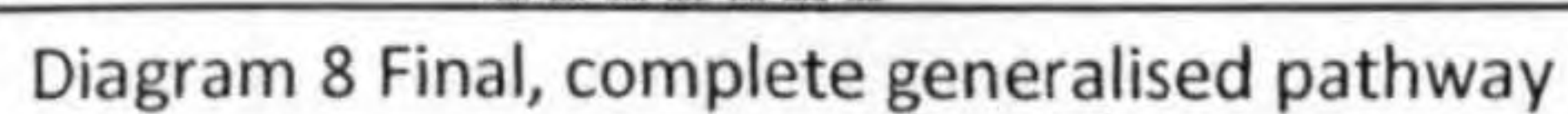
## **The final generalised pathway**

### **The complete pathway**

The generalised pathway is presented in two forms. The first is a complete final generalised pathway (Diagram 8) and the second (Diagram 9) a condensation of the first. The complete version exposes in all its detail the political process and is based on the primary and secondary categories of the final typology matrix. Only those categories that were not directly transferable into a time-sensitive flow chart were changed or not considered. Thereby, the flowchart draws out in detail the complex and contradictory political processes of water movement struggles for the appropriation of water services.

Given that this flowchart is too complex for easy appreciation, I develop the second flowchart. It is a condensed version of the first and allows for easier access to the key analytical results that the complete pathway offers. It therefore serves the purpose of simplification of the complex research results and also to identify the core pathway that struggles take. In this way, the two pathways combined are explanatory and analytical tools that combine depth of analysis with clarity and precision of focus. Both pathways are divided into the primary codes of the matrix in order to organise the process into the key stages. This is done by a colour scheme that is explained in the flow charts themselves.







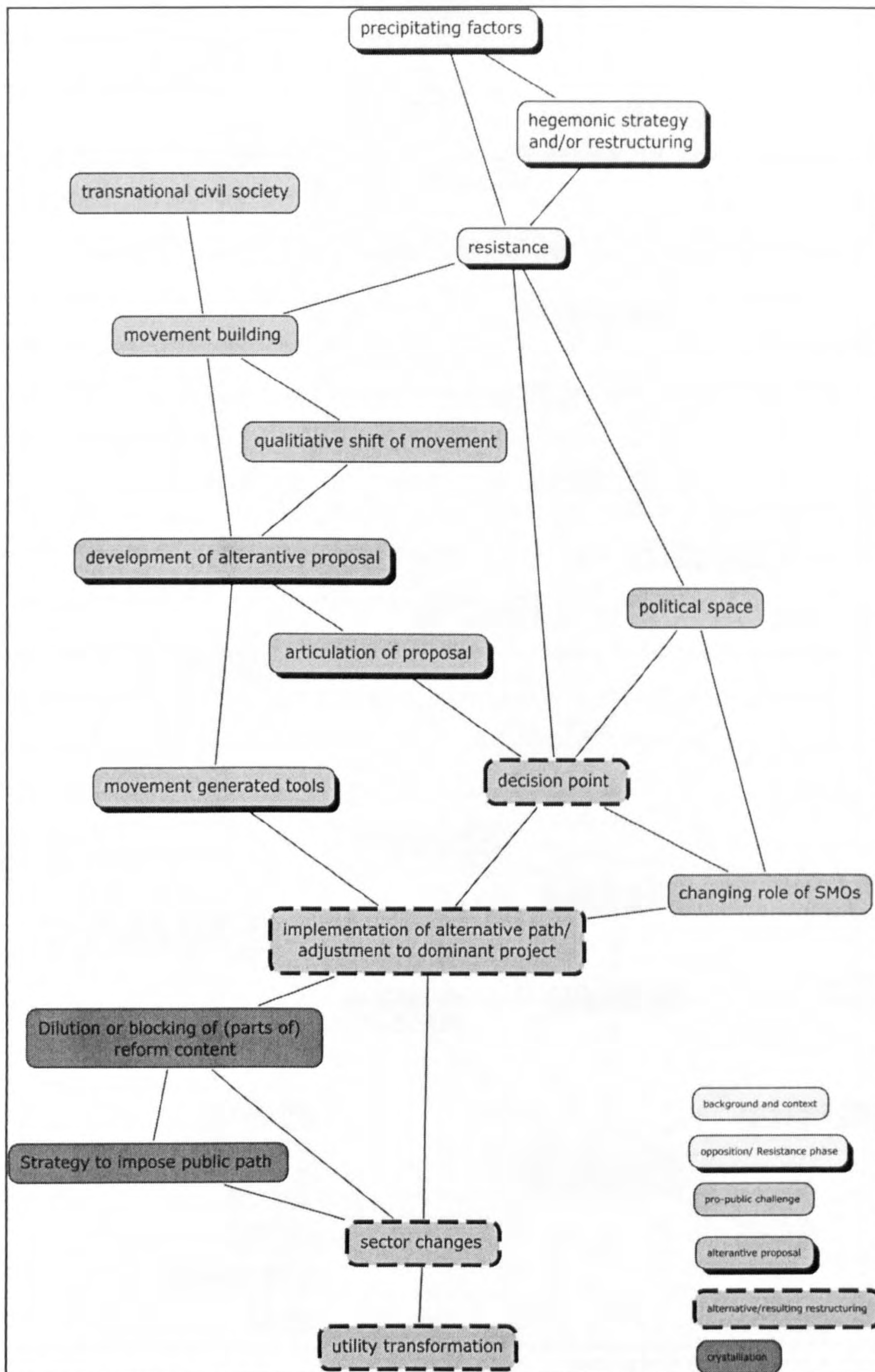


Diagram 9 Final, condensed generalised pathway



## **The condensed pathway**

The condensed pathway in Diagram 9 synthesises the political process and demonstrates that the key path of events starts with resistance by social movements, which leads to a process of movement building and, given that a qualitative shift occurs in the movements towards appropriation strategies, the development and articulation of alternative proposals. This qualitative shift is what distinguishes movement events of the character of social appropriation, generating a pro-public challenge, from other movement events described in the general typology in Box 8.

### **Key results of the pathway analysis**

A key result of the pathway is that it shows that political space is created in pro-public challenges. In a next step, the articulation of the proposal and the political space in which the movement can intervene in the policy process and implant the alternative proposal can lead to a decision point. In the summary pathway, this decision point is a singular one that combines the various types of decision points of the complex pathway. These are decision points against liberalisation, privatisation/PSP and commercialisation and in favour of a pro-public path of development.

The consequence of this decision is on the one hand that the roles of social movement organisations change, as they are from that point on involved in certain ways in the implementation process and have taken up certain functions of representation of popular interest. On the other hand, it leads to the implementation of an alternative path of development or, if the decision was not so decisive and binding that it would lead to such a fundamental and deep change in the sector, an adjustment to the state project.

Implementation however needs to be understood as a sequential process itself. The bloc in power, the materiality of the state and the barriers to change in the organisational field can bring about a dilution or blocking of parts of or the whole the reform, while the social movements can be expected to develop strategies aimed at imposing the pro-public path of development. This creates a field of forces where finally sector changes can occur in the forms of institutional restructuring, legislative changes, utility transformation and change of values and norms of the sector.



## **Capabilities and capacities as subliminal conditioning factors**

Another element by which to exemplify the application of the matrix and the pathway is a discussion of the relation between movement building, changing roles and what I have discussed in terms of movement capabilities and capacities. The latter two concepts do not appear in the typology theory outputs but were highlighted in the typology chapter as relevant factors to consider in the case studies. I have applied them in the case analyses and have argued that they are two dimensions of movement organisation that are crucial aspects if social movements are to engage over time in hierarchies of the state and institutions of the organisational field, aiming specifically to intervene in governance and management of water services.

The above are elements of the category of movement building, which is conditioned by the alternative proposal and the framing of the struggle. The factors of movement building, proposing and framing need to correlate in order for adequate capacity and capability of the movement to develop. In the process also, the decision point appears as a nodal point as it is in this instance that restructuring of the sector and the related exigencies for the movements, which they meet with capacity and capability, are conditioned. The results of that are changing roles in the post-decision phase of implementation, which is affected in turn by the process of framing post-decision.

## **Contingent generalisations**

The thesis has convincingly demonstrated and systematically analysed how social movements not only resist privatisation but struggle for public water and drive the implementation of alternative paths of development. This potential of changing the behaviour of industries is generated through the political process of movement contestation and intervention. For this the thesis developed the conceptual framework of social appropriation through the radical reform and democratisation of water systems. These are understood as the horizon of movement activation and strategy. The discourse analysis of the global water justice movement was the framework with which the local-national movement struggles were approached and appraised. One key finding on the global movement discourse was that the propositional elements of the convergence frame have the weakness of treating the political process of radical transformation of the sector as a 'black box'. The current phase of development, the self-knowledge of the movements on a transnational level has not brought

light into that black box. This means that the movements do not sufficiently understand the roles, potentials and impact in water appropriation struggles. The result of that dilemma has been the disorganised and incomplete strategic development of capabilities, capacities and movement repertoires and expert knowledge and networked organisation. These elements however are necessary if the movements are to increase their potential and become more effective agents of change.

The matrix and generalised pathways are analytical tools by which, it is hoped, movements can also by themselves review and appreciate the political processes in which they are involved. Another set of tools for this arguably necessary movement self-reflection that is developed in the thesis with the help of typology theory is the contingent generalisations. They derive from the qualitative data analysis that has moved between the typology theory and case study research. Contingent generalisations are based on the matrix and the pathway and in combination shed light into the 'black box' of political process. The socio-political process of movement interaction in sector reform has already been laid out in the presentation of the generalised pathway. The contingent generalisations are therefore put forward as discrete bullet points that offer more detailed insights into elements of these processes at local-national level:

#### **Political context**

- ❖ POS is relevant beyond its explanatory field of movement emergence as it affects implementation and sector restructuring.

#### **Movement actors and organisation**

- ❖ Different actors drive processes. The role of trade unions is crucial and can vary from protagonist to passive to negative.
- ❖ Different movement actors intervene in the political field from different actor positions. They aim for actor recognition, inclusion in, and generation of new political spaces and policy processes in parallel to resistance strategies.
- ❖ The form of organisation of the movement sector involves progressive trade unions of the water sector and coalitions of social movements and civil society organisations. These coalitions involve various social sectors and articulate politics of consumption, production and the environment.



- ❖ The organisation of social movements takes the form of horizontal movement coalitions and networks. Organisational forms are changed by the qualitative shifts that affect movement development. Also, changing roles developed by movements through the socio-political process of struggle and intervention affect movement organisation.
- ❖ Organisational and strategic development of the movement sectors occurs via initial phases of resistance that give rise to phases of proposal development and proposal articulation. These are the basis for the propositional role and long-term effectiveness of movement intervention in public water systems.
- ❖ Thereby, new forms of representation and articulation of subaltern interests are generated.
- ❖ Movement organisations that interact in sector transformation processes generate expert knowledge and develop and diffuse repertoires and political strategies that enable, implement and expand alternatives of democratisation and revitalisation of public and community water.
- ❖ This involves national to local or global to national-local or trans-local processes of diffusion and learning. Repertoires of alternative models of water systems and effective participation diffuse in such ways.
- ❖ For the development of expert knowledge, organisational capacity and strategic vision, water movements draw on expert and professional support by NGOs, academics and sector professionals.
- ❖ Movements develop self-knowledge about their role and tasks in water politics. This self-reflexive nature of the movements allows them to adapt to the changing roles and strategic exigencies.
- ❖ Movement building can adjust to changing roles by developing movement capabilities and capacities. These two dimensions of movement organisation are crucial aspects for social movements to engage over time in hierarchies of the state and institutions of the organisational field.
- ❖ Capability, and thus potential, is conditioned by constraints on resources, opportunities and capacities, which in turn are dependent on movement development and strategic framing.
- ❖ The progressive intervention in water systems starts with resistance strategies and moves through new frames into the development of the proposal and movement building. Movement building is conditioned by the alternative proposal and the framing of the

struggle. Only if these elements correlate, will adequate capacity and capability of the movement be the result.

### **Qualitative shift**

- ❖ Appropriation strategies hinge especially on the qualitative shift of the social movements and the articulation of an alternative proposal. The qualitative shift describes how movements shift their myth, vision and strategic outlook from defence to proposition. It is the decisive point of inflection for the struggles.
- ❖ The intervention in hierarchies of the state and institutions of the organisational field require movement organisations to become knowledgeable, recognised and propositional transmission belts for popular interests.

### **Alternatives**

- ❖ The form and content of alternative proposals are the results of the conjuncture of the type of movement and process of struggle.
- ❖ The key political conflict is about the change in ownership, control, structure, management and discourse of the water utility; no matter if it is a local or national service provider. Issues of water resource management enter the political project of the social movements.
- ❖ Processes of developing the alternative models are determined by their timing in the overall political process and by professional input, leadership, consultation, socialisation, and legitimisation.
- ❖ The movement generation of public alternatives requires the qualitative shift of movements and is determined by the framing and the development of alternative proposals.
- ❖ Decisions for the implementation of alternatives do experience and are affected by dilutions and obstructions in the implementation process.
- ❖ Movement organisations adjust to these distortions with strategies of imposition or critical accommodation.
- ❖ The politicisation of water systems is increased by these processes.

### **Access points and centres for movement-project anchoring**

- ❖ The different basic institutions of water systems (law, policy and administration) and their different levels from municipal to national are the access points for movement strategies



and can turn into centres of oppositions when movements anchor and stabilise their projects in them successfully.

- ❖ Water struggles gain a holistic perspective and challenge established norms and sector myths through critical engagement with the concrete problems and challenges of the sector institutions and organisations.
- ❖ Access point structures can be favourable or unfavourable for anchoring counter-hegemonic projects in sector organisations

### **Movement intervention and power**

- ❖ A pro-public challenge is dependent on movement organisation, discourse and forms of intervention and articulation.
- ❖ Movements have to implant themselves permanently as propositional, creative and forceful actors against state structures, party politics and the barriers to change inside the organisational field.
- ❖ The dimensions of power to act and power to implement are central conditions for pro-public challenges to have an impact on water systems' governance and management. They are the basis of politicised participation.
- ❖ Procedural and structural powers are crucial elements for implementation of alternatives to have an impact on institutions and organisations.

### **Decision point**

- ❖ The decision point is the nodal point of restructuring of the sector and can be divided into a anti-private and a pro-public decision point.

### **Implementation**

- ❖ Implementation is dependent on the (re-)composition of power relations in the organisational field and inside and outside of state structures.
- ❖ Changes in participation occur and describe institutional shifts in power relations.
- ❖ De-radicalisation of demands and expectations by movements occur in the course of implementation.
- ❖ Movement organisations have to maintain power to act throughout the process of radical reform.

- ❖ The transformation of the path of development of the water sector requires the anchoring of the counter-hegemonic project of the social movement through the alternative proposal, the decision point and the alternative restructuring.
- ❖ Implementation is affected by the crystallisation of the pro-public path.

### **The pro-public challenge**

#### **Condensation of steps in the political process**

The matrix and the pathway allow for the establishment of a series of core relations within the conceptual and analytical framework, for which the generalisations develop further conditions. The core relation described throughout this analytical representation is the process of hegemonisation of the pro-public challenge. This process starts with the development of the alternative proposal and encompasses the decision point and implementation and ends in the crystallisation and resulting sector changes. This is an equivalent observation to the lines of progress that I have developed when discussing the matrix, the difference being that this observation can be directly read from the condensed pathway.



Political Space	<i>Steps in Political Process</i>	Programmatic Annotations for Politicised Participation
	Hegemonic sector plan	
	Resistance	
Political Space Pre-Decision	Movement building	Discursive foundation for new role of movement sector
	Alternative Proposal	
	Articulation of Proposal	
	Political Decision	Nodal point for state-society re- configuration of relations
Political space post decision	Post-decision immediate reconfiguration	Institutionalisation of politicised participation as new form of state-society relations
	Crystallisation of Reform	
	Changing Role of SMOs	
	Implementation	
	Sector Changes and Utility Change Management	

Table 9 Steps in the political process of pro-public challenges

This analysis of the core-relation can also be re-iterated with help of a framework, presented in Table 9 as the centre column, that builds a line of progression of steps in the political process. The left column of that table relates these steps to the concept of political space, as political space was found to be the necessary overarching anchor point for movement projects within the context of state-public water service systems. The right column offers programmatic and conceptual annotations that explain the positionalities of the respective steps in the overall development of the political process. Here, the aspects of discourse foundation, nodal point for reconfiguration of state-society relations and politicised participation are considered. These three programmatic annotations show how the role and agency of movements is transformed through the steps in the political process.



It is important to note the combination of conceptual framework elements, political space and politicised participation, and the steps in development. These steps equal qualitative codes that I developed in the case analysis. They are a direct result of the grounded theory coding process. The fact that I can relate these in a fluent way with elements of the conceptual framework shows that the design and planning of the case studies and theory building yields results that can be combined coherently.

The shift in society-state relations that is built into the table has various elements. It relates to the relations of social movement organisations to broader civil society and to political parties, the state apparatus and the process of utility transformation. It evolves out of resistance and develops through the articulation of the alternative proposal and the political space where this occurs, and is created in the decision point and materialised through the emerging political space post-decision. It gets changed through the crystallisation process of the implementation and leads to changing roles of movement.

### **Strategies of pro-public challenges**

A central figure in the research has been the relation between sector reform and social movements, which I conceptualised in a first instance as movement-reform interaction and then as pro-public challenge. The pro-public challenge was understood as a politically conscious movement expression that involves a series of activities, events and processes directed at the social appropriation and radical reformism of water systems. These were captured in the matrix and the generalised pathway in conceptual terms. The concept expresses a movement challenge for the democratisation of public water systems and encapsulates the following secondary categories:

- Movement building pre- / post-decision
- Changing Role of SMOs
- Political space pre- and post-decision
- Transnational Civil Society
- Qualitative shift of movement
- Strategy to reach decisions
- Framing pre-/ post-decision
- Alternative proposal

These categories set out the movement processes by which a social movement sector builds on resistance and expands the nature of contentious struggle from defence to social appropriation. The category of pro-public challenge is a heuristic analytical category and involves elements of movement organisation, discourse and forms of intervention and



articulation. It hinges on the qualitative shift towards a politicised challenge for the democratisation of public water systems and its filling with meaning and practical content via the development and articulation of an alternative proposal. Considering pro-public challenge from a strategic point of view, the research has found that social movements engage in a series of strategies in the course of such challenges. The findings on strategies of pro-public challenges are summarised in Box 10.

- constitutional reform
- legislation to prohibit privatisation
- legislation to enable progressive public sector reform
- implementation of legislation through decrees and official orders
- (re-)establishing policy space at the level of international development assistance and cooperation
- institutional and organisational development at governance level
- service provider-level decision-making on policy reform
- service provider-level implementation of policy reform
- organisational change in public authorities of governance and service provider- level
- development of new structures of political and social control and participation at governance and service provider-level
- transformation of norms of service delivery
- construction of social and political structures, processes and discourses for progressive public water
- transformation of individual social behaviour towards public water systems
- (re-) construction of infrastructure, environmental sustainability and universalisation of access
- enabling of new forms of public-communitarian, public-public partnerships to strengthen and enable public sector reform and service expansion/improvement/decentralisation/cooperation

**Box 10 Movement strategies of pro-public challenges**

## **10. Conclusions: Public Water Struggles**

*This concluding chapter starts with an overview account of the thesis and then accounts for the overall conclusions of the thesis. It does so by discussing the findings and results in the light of the research questions and the aims and objective of the research.*

### **10.1. Overview of thesis**

The thesis concerned the scope and potential of struggles for the defence and appropriation of public water (systems) and started by establishing the need for a progressive research programme into water sector reform without recourse to neoliberal policy mechanisms. This was the result developed in Chapter 2 of the literature review on urban water management. Leading on from that, the conceptual framework (Chapter 3) considered the politicisation of participation by social movements that aim at constructive intervention in the water sector. This intervention was conceptualised as political practice of radical reformism and social appropriation, focusing on how social movements and collective action can create new organisational forms in water management and governance.

Empirically, social movements on urban water and sanitation systems have been considered at two distinct levels. Firstly, the transnational level where movement networks and their discourses have been appraised (Chapters 5). Secondly, struggles at local and national level have been studied. This was done on the basis of a comparative analysis of a number of cases, mainly in Latin America (Chapter 6), and two local-national case studies presented in Chapters 7 and 8.

The analysis in Chapters 5 and 6 has yielded a critical perspective on the movements' globalised discourses and established the emergence of a convergence frame centred on anti-privatisation and the democratisation of public water. The propositional elements of that frame consider social movements as agents of progressive change towards the revitalisation and enhancement of public water systems. The scope of validity of that movement frame was then addressed with help of a general typology of water struggles. In a further step, the concept of movement-reform interaction was employed to distil from the general typology a comparative analytical tool of typology approach (Chapter 6). This comparative typology on what are considered pro-public challenges and appropriation struggles generated, amongst other components, a non-formal matrix (Table 1) that was developed into a set of interim outputs in form of a matrix (Table 1), contingent generalisations and a generalised pathway



(Diagram 4). These analyse the political process of social movement contestations that involve strategies of social appropriation as pro-public challenge.

On the basis of these interim conceptual findings, two case studies were chosen and undertaken on the movement struggles to implement utility modernisation without recourse to privatisation in Peru and the city of Huancayo (Chapter 7) and the implementation of the national referendum in Uruguay (Chapter 8). The cases were elaborated in detailed case descriptions and in-case appraisals and analyses as well as a comparative and compound analysis developed in Chapter 9.

Both case studies confirmed that social movements undertake pro-public challenges whereby they generate new political spaces for public water alternatives and whereby they develop their agency and roles in sector governance. The case study of Peru and Huancayo has demonstrated how such water movements face structural impediments in unfavourable political contexts. Whereas the Uruguayan case study allowed insights into the limitations of movement intervention in more favourable political opportunities, where a human right to water principle established at the level of national constitution opened a new path of development for WSS.

Chapter 9 has developed a comparative and compound analysis setting out a typology theory development for pro-public challenges, in other words water struggles that aim at the social appropriation and radical reformism of water and sanitation systems. The thesis demonstrated and created analytical insight into how pro-public challenges by social movements generate processes of politicised participation in the organisational field of urban WATSAN. This was the conceptual frame that was developed in Chapter 3 and that was applied in a heuristic fashion.

## **10.2. Conclusions**

### **Review: the structure of the argument**

The basic argument put forward is that the grassroots struggles around urban water are based on resistance to water privatisation and commodification while alternatives to failing private and ailing public provision are moving into the centre of debate. These alternatives emerge from community systems, cooperatives, progressive public companies, re-municipalised utilities, enlightened public managers and participatory public authorities. Indeed, the background and context of the water struggles in focus in this thesis are that different countries have implemented significant water-related constitutional and legal reforms,

involving the setting up of new water sector authorities in line with the values of the human right to water and universalisation of water services (World Water Forum Istanbul, 2009). Indeed, there are many successful public water and sanitation firms and community and cooperative systems (Balanya et al., 2005; da Costa et al., 2008; Hall, 2001; 2003; and Hachfeld et al. 2008). Given this background, the guiding question for the research endeavour was how to develop knowledge relevant to the political processes of democratisation of WATSAN systems; focusing through an actor-perspective on social movements.

The research problematised, conceptualised and analysed radical reformism of urban water and sanitation that was understood as process of politicised participation of social movements in urban WATSAN. This involves social movement struggles for the social appropriation of water services in the sense of democratisation of governance and management. Public water was considered as heuristic discourse of global water movement networks and as emancipatory project of social movements. On these bases, the analytical category of public water struggles, which were considered as pro-public challenges for the social appropriation of water, was generated and filled in by typology theory. The focus of analysis was on the political process of public water struggles rather than on the models and policies that movements aim to generate. This was due to the understanding that it is of strategic importance for the movements to develop self-knowledge about their capacities, weaknesses and potentials.

As a result, the research developed an understanding of the political process of water struggles. It did so on the basis of typology theory that has systematically developed a mid-range conceptual framework in the form of matrices, generalised pathways and contingent generalisations. Key concepts employed in this analytical framework are concepts of movementisation, political space and politicised participation.

The inquiry focused on the role of the diverse social movements against urban water privatisation in the broader reform processes of urban water and sanitation. By addressing the role and impact of social movements and their transnational networks in the reform of governance and management of urban water and sanitation, the thesis has proven that new roles are developing through the engagement of the movement sector in management and governance of urban WATSAN. These roles demand the expansion of current concepts of participation through the perspectives of democratisation and politicisation.



The central research result is therefore the typology theory presented in section 9.3. It offers analytical categories and contingent explanations of the movement sector's potential to affect a redirection of the path of development of urban water and sanitation. The relations or interactions between movements and urban water systems that pro-public challenges can generate can thus be understood with the specific focus on the political process and new forms of public sector reform that they generate. Another result is the set of strategic recommendations for the social movement organisations in each case study.

### **Answering the research question and reconsidering the research problem**

The inquiry into urban social movements and their transnational networks against water privatisation and in favour of public-democratic reforms of public utilities (and community systems) was guided by a general and a more specific research question. The general research question asked about the role of the social movements in the exploration of alternatives to urban water privatisation? The more specific question sought to investigate the political process through which urban water movements can have an impact on the progressive, pro-public reform of urban WATSAN systems (see section 4.3).

By way of concisely answering the research questions, the thesis' argument can be summarised by stating that social movements problematise, mobilise and stabilise an emerging counter-hegemonic project of democratisation of public water systems. They do so via transnational networks and local-national coalitions, engaging at different levels and scales in the transformation of the organisational field. Thereby, they create a challenge for the defence and revitalisation of public-community water; a pro-public challenge. They resist water privatisation, generate alternative proposals, and build informal and formal political spaces in which they articulate these proposals, both at transnational but most importantly and powerfully at local-national level. The keys to this pro-public challenge are the qualitative shifts in the self-perception and strategic outlook of social movements towards a vision of social appropriation. These processes require that the role of social movements in the organisational field becomes interventionist and propositional while remaining contentious.

At the transnational level, the research found an emergent discourse frame on the democratisation of public alternatives that, while having become more concrete and sector relevant, remains incomplete. The consequence of this is that movement debates and practices related to the state, public service delivery and self-entanglement in appropriation

processes remain limited. The result so far has been the unsystematic and incomplete strategic development of capabilities, capacities and movement repertoires, expert knowledge and networked organisation. The strategic developments of these factors will be crucial in order to seek effective and impactful pro-public challenges at global and local level.

Notwithstanding such weaknesses and limitations, the research has confirmed the potential of social transformation generated by mobilisation and politicisation by water movements and showed that the social movement project of democratisation of service delivery has an impact on paths of development and new institutional designs. Social movements do not only resist but generate politicised participation in developing and implementing alternatives. A central figure in this politicised participation was found to be the notion of political space, by which the intermediary movement sector can position itself as recognised, rightful actor with power to act and implement. Such a political space was found to be more valuable but also harder to reach in formalised fashions.

This means that social movements can impact on water systems by leading to decisions against water privatisation and decisions in favour of a new pro-public path of development. The power to act engrained in such decisive moments can however be diluted through the process of implementation of the decisions, which relate to the material transformation of water systems and their three interrelated and essential components of water institutions, which are water law, water policy, and water administration. This type of movement-induced but not movement-controlled transformation requires social movements to develop capacities, resources and knowledge in order to intervene effectively and constructively in the transformation of the hierarchies of the state and sector institutions. As the case of Huancayo has demonstrated, such movement developments are not always possible under adverse political contexts.

The research found that social movements generate windows of opportunity for the radical reformism of water and sanitation systems. The impact of movements was shown to be substantial, even if the power to implement tends to diminish in the course of implementation processes with the result that movement contestations lead to reactive rather than proactive substantive impacts. They have an impact on the institutions and policies of water systems and thereby develop new roles for themselves. Collective benefits are reached via such institutional and policy impacts, but only when these filter down to transformations in the behaviour of service providers. This occurs as social movements gain access to the internal organisational



change of utilities; but also as a result of the changes in the path of development engendered by movement projects at other levels, such as policy or legislation. This was demonstrated clearly by the management changes in the Uruguayan state utility OSE that resulted from the separate challenges at utility, institutional, legal and policy level.

Concerning the precise research question on the political process by which these roles and impacts are generated, the research has generated mid-range typology theory. This has been presented as findings and results in Chapter 9 (especially Diagram 9 and Table 8). Thereby, the answer to the more precise research question is presented in the form of an analytical framework by which social movement influence on urban water supply can be appraised in their contingent forms and expressions.

### **Review of aims and objectives**

The aim of the research was to identify and conceptualise the political processes of the movement sector's pro-public challenge. The political perspective of the research was to understand how movement-induced processes of change can be empowered, supported and scaled up. By means of meeting this overall aim, the thesis successfully addressed a series of objectives set out in section 4.4. The research developed a conceptual framework, analysed the movement sector and its transnational discourse and on that basis explored and developed conceptual insights into the movementisation of urban WATSAN reform at local-national level. The concept of pro-public challenge can in result be appreciated by the dense case studies and the typology theory (the matrix, generalisations and pathway).

By meeting these more concrete objectives, the thesis has fulfilled the more general expectation of adding to the body of knowledge on participation and social movement studies. In addition, the research findings were shared with the research partners as the practice of politicised social movement research incorporated the closing of the research cycle by making the research findings available at a social movement conference. In what way the knowledge produced can be made relevant for policy and governance debates remains an open question however since the bridging of the epistemic communities remains a major hurdle. Overall, the thesis adds significantly to the understanding of the political dimension of urban water supply. It develops new understanding about the potentials of emancipatory structural transformation by conceptualising and developing analytical tools to appreciate the political process of

movement contestation and the potentials and limitations of the urban water movement sector as agency for change in the reform of urban water and sanitation.

### **Limitations of the thesis and recommendations for further research**

The limitations of the thesis are three-fold. First, the research did not develop a conceptual understanding of social movement intervention at the transnational level. By identifying the discourse and political project, the thesis developed a way to approach local struggles but did not look more deeply into how transnational movement events have an impact on global governance of water. The second limitation is that the research did not fully establish the scope of validity of the concept of pro-public challenge. A larger comparative study would have been required for this (see recommendations below). That was beyond the scope of the research, given the primary focus of developing meso-level theory on the pro-public challenge. The third limitation concerns the alternatives to privatisation. The research focused on the political process rather than its material outcomes and therefore did not elaborate on the models of democratised public water delivery that the movements aim to generate.

In section 2.5 (Proposals for research on democratisation of water sector policy), I proposed a set of research themes on the democratisation of water services. The research approach (see section 4.3) addressed in detail one of these themes, namely the political process of movementisation of WSS reform. Further research is required on all of the general themes of the proposed research agenda on democratisation of WWS policy. More specific research recommendations result from the contribution of this thesis to the body of knowledge on the political process of WSS reform and the politicised participation of social movements.

At the level of transnational networks and discourses, further research should identify the political process and impact of movement challenges at the transnational level. Also the question should be addressed of how trans-local diffusion of frames and repertoires in movement networks is driving new policy tools, such as public-public partnerships.

Furthermore, a better understanding is required on the trans-local quality of the transnational movement sector networks. Investigation in this regard would look into the relation of actions at different scales, such as at global governance institutions (GWOPA for example) and local-national struggles in a certain polity. Overall, the body of knowledge on the mobilisation, organisation and stabilisation of the transnational movement discourse frame, political project and strategic practice needs to be developed further.



Related to the aforementioned research limitations, one important future research step would be to further investigate the scope of validity of the concept of pro-public challenge. The research result of the general typology (section 6.2) and the conceptual findings on the pro-public challenge should be combined in a comparative study to catalogue and appraise all movement events on urban water struggles in the past 10 years. This can be at a regional level or globally. Such a data set does not exist to date and would allow for further determination of water struggles. Also at a local-national level, the thesis offers a set of analytical tools for in-case analysis (the typology theory) which in the course of its application should be further tested and refined by a variety of research approaches. This can occur through a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods.

Indeed, the research results are the basis for further research to fruitfully combine qualitative with quantitative methodology, in the sense of sequencing of approaches. The aim of such further research would be to increase the precision of causal explanations of the typology theory results. In addition, further action research is required in the form of involved movement research into local-national movement contestations. In combination, these different recommended research strategies can build on the findings and results of this thesis in order to further gain insights on the limitations and potentials of movement challenges for public water.

### **The challenge to develop a successful pro-public movement project**

The visions for public and community water are expanding in the Americas and also globally. They were found to resonate in the qualitative shifts in global movement discourses, which have become more concretely focused on real challenges in public-community water systems. Struggles that at the start of the century were merely about privatisation have matured to a stage where water movements enter the search for alternatives and their own roles in bringing about and managing these alternatives. The so-called global water justice movement has been seeking common terminologies and increasingly so refers to progressive and emancipatory approaches to water and sanitation and water management in general. Water movements are building their own stories, myths (see Box 1 for the specific meaning of myth in this context) and hopes on the basis of a strategic discourse that aims to re-appropriate water (services). They aim to transform, democratise and revitalise the public-community sector and thereby generate concrete alternatives to failing public and private water systems. So we can speak of an expansion and qualitative shift in social movements for the human right to water and

against water privatisation. Defensive strategies are expanded, rights approaches added to and as a result movements today specifically seek alternatives in the form democratisation of public-community water systems.

In result, the critical challenge that the water movements confront in social and political conflicts over water (services) is not only to prevent a capitalist expansion into ever more areas of life but also to envision, develop and implement functioning, equitable and sustainable water systems on the basis of a transparent and democratic publicness, the human right to water and effective participation by users and workers. So, in addition to defensive strategies and resistance to the commodification of the water commons, movements are ever more confronted with the question of alternatives.

It is for this reason that social movements are confronted with their own capacity to act, their agency and relative power, to redirect the path of development and turn from defensive to pro-public challenges. The strategic scenario for alternatives remains problematic since even if political will exists in a certain polity there are no adequate or sufficient means, tools nor international support programmes for such progressive and emancipatory projects. And that is the case despite the massive potentials, capabilities and examples of effective, equitable and sustainable public and community water management. It has been shown that there exist strong social demands and effective social movement intervention.

The challenge for the movements is to fill these demands for alternatives with realistic though contentious political strategies, means of articulation and forms of organisation. Both Uruguay and Peru-Huancayo have demonstrated the difficulties of temporarily assuming power to implement a new path of development of a water utility.

The strategies for alternatives by the transnational networks of water movements require collective learning and the construction and diffusion of the means to develop and support such alternatives. The research has engaged and hopes to be a basis for intervention in this process of learning. It has done so primarily by developing relevant knowledge about the political processes that water movements generate.



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World Water Forum Istanbul. (2009) *Americas Regional Document.*

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Yeboah, Ian (2006) Subaltern strategies and development practice: urban water privatization in Ghana. *The Geographical Journal* **172** (16) : 50-65.

Yin, Robert K.. (2007) *Case study research. Design and methods.* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.

Zeller, Christian. (ed.) (2004) *Die globale Enteignungsökonomie.* 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Münster: Westfäl. Dampfboot.



## **Annex I: List of empirical data**

### **Attendance of international conferences and seminars**

International seminar: Water; common good, public management and alternatives, Cochabamba, Bolivia, 23<sup>rd</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> of August 2008

Reclaiming Public Water Network Regional Seminar Europe, January 2008

Assembly of REDVIDA, Lima, Peru, March 2007

World Water Forum, Mexico City, March 2006

International Forum in Defence of Water, Mexico City, 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> of March 2006

Symposium on Improving Public Water Delivery, Mexico City, 16<sup>th</sup> of March 2006

Reclaiming Public Water Network Seminar on rural water and sanitation services, Barcelona, November 2005

The Second Peoples' World Water Forum, ACME, Geneva. August 2005

World Social Forum (WSF), Porto Alegre, January 2005

Seminar: Reclaiming Public Water. at the World Social Forum, Porto Alegre, Brazil. January 2005

European Social Forum (ESF) London, October 2004

Brussels Water Strategy Meeting, 2004

Dialogues on Water for Life and Security. The Forum Barcelona, 31<sup>st</sup> of May 31 to 1<sup>st</sup> of June 2004

A series of activities before the official start of the PhD program in April 2004, including the ESF in Paris in 2003, the WSF in Mumbai in 2004, the People's World Water Forum in Delhi in 2004, the Amsterdam Strategy Meeting in 2004, and the Peoples World Water Forum March 21 and 22, 2003, Florence, Italy.

## **Data set for case study Peru/Huancayo**

### **Interviews**

Alza, Carlos (09.03.2006) Defensoria del Pueblo, Office for Public Services and the Environment

Amorebieta, Guillermo (19.04.2006) ABSA - SOSBA, Province of Buenos Aires, Argentina

Antignani, Miguel (21.07.2006) Member of Municipal Council of Province of Huancayo

Ausejo, Flavio (06.03.2006) (08.03.2006) General Manager of Institutional Relations, SUNASS

Avendanjo, Nelly (19.04.2006) (21.04.2006) (17.07.2006) President of FREDEAJUN

Barreto Jimeno, Pedro Ricardo (16.04.2006) Archbishop of Huancayo

Barrios Ipenza, Fernando (19.03.2005): Mayor of the Province of Huancayo

Bernex, Nicole (07.03.2006) Universidad Católica Distrito de San Miguel -Lima): Global Water Partnership- Peru and professor at Catholic University of Lima

Campos, Sergio (20.07.2006) IADB, phone interview

Chamorro, Betty (22.07.2006) Mayor of District of Chilca, Huancayo

Chungas, Hector (12.04.2006) (14.07.2006) Advisor of FENTAP

Condori, Rolando (17.07.2006) FENTAP executive committee

Flores, Jacinto (21.04.2006) (20.07.06) Local technical advisor to FREDEAJUN on water utility management

Gabriel Torres, Josefina (08.03.2006) President of SUTAPAH and treasurer of FREDAJUN

Llanos, Miguel (12.05. 2006) Lawyer of FENTAP

Luis Isarra (14.04.2006) General Secretary of FENTAP

Luis Isarra (15.07.2006) General Secretary of FENTAP

Mendez, Gustavo (11.04.2006) KFW

Ortiz, Maria (07.03.06) CGTP – ConAguaYvida



Pozo, Arturo del (21.07.2006) Regional Director Junín of Regional Office of Ministry of Housing, Construction and Sanitation

Quispe, Abel (18.04.2006) member of provincial municipal council of Huancayo, Huancayo

Rivera, Rony (09.03.2006) Vice-Ministry of Construction and Sanitation, Ministry of Housing, Construction and Sanitation

Rodríguez Rojas, Luz Mariana (15.07.2006) General Secretary of SUTSELAM and member of Frente de Defensa de Chiclayo

Rodríguez, Alejandro (14.04.2006) General Manager of Regional Government of Junín, Huancayo

Rosenauer, Michael (10.04.2006) GTZ, PROAGUA

Urbina Linares, Fernando (01.03.2006) Advisor to FENTAP and member of APRA party

Vidalon, Jesus (12.04.2006) Proinversion

### **Conferences, seminars, workshops, work meetings, protests**

- I attended two General Assemblies of FENTAP in the years 2006 and 2007 and two thematic conferences of FENTAP in the year 2006. In addition, I attended two sector-specific conferences in Lima.
- The work in the office of FENTAP as advisor for a period of three months included:
  - Participation in staff meetings, projects, and negotiations with government, public bodies, and political parties.
  - Attendance of professional conferences, parliamentary debates, and international meetings, participation in meeting of national water network ConAguaYvida
  - Travel to five different cities to visit local unions and defensive fronts.
  - Attendance of three major national demonstrations on water issues in Lima.
- The work as advisor for the local trade union and the local front in Huancayo for two months included:
  - co-organisation of three participatory workshops on public alternatives,
  - accompanying of collective learning process on the local water and water management issues and public alternatives, including PUPs
  - two major demonstrations

- official negotiations with Archbishop, central government, Proinversión
- co-organisation of the PUP project in Huancayo

## **Data set for case study Uruguay**

### **Interviews**

Achkar, Marcel. (05.06.2006) Professor of department of geography, University of Montevideo

Arnejo, Alicia. (06.06.2009) Programa de Mejoramiento de la Gestion de OSE

Carlos Santos. (30.05.2006) Redes Uruguay

Casa, Gastón. (07.06.2006) Head of Social Policy Office OSE

Colacce, Carlos. (06.06.2006) General Manager OSE

Dr. Ruben Correa Freitas. (08.06.2006) Dean of the Law Faculty of Universidad de la Empresa

Genta, Luis. 06.06.2006) National Director of Water and Sanitation, DINASA, Ministerio de Vivienda, Ordenamiento Territorial y Medio Ambiente

Marquisio, Adriana. (31.05.2006) President of FFOSE, leading member of CNDAV

Patrone, Jorge. (07.06.2006) Parliamentarian of National Congress

*Perdomo, Néstor.* (05.06.2006) member of CNDAV

Rosa, Wilma. (01.06.2006) Secretary of Organisation, FFOSE

Selva, Maria. (06.06.2006) REDES Uruguay, PR person and leader in CNDAV

Sossa, Carlos. (30.05.2006) Member of FFOSE directorate

Sossa, Carmen. (04.06.2006) System Analyst, OSE: Technical support position for Systems Engineering and Computation, member of UTEA

Uriarte, Daoiz. (05.06.2006) Secretary General, OSE

Various. (02.06.2006) Group of members of the Commission Zonal Oeste del Agua, Montevideo

### **Conferences, seminars, workshops, and work meetings**

- The case study of Uruguay was a participatory research process whereby I participated in meetings of CNDAV and FFOSE.



- At the time of my research, negotiations took place between the movement and the newly formed DINASA about the participatory mechanism COASAS. I attended a number of public, official and civil meetings and events on this issue.

## **Annex II: List of Publications**

### **Conference Presentations**

*Social struggles to keep water in public hands: experiences from Latin America. (2007) SLAS Annual Conference. 13th-15<sup>th</sup> April 2007: Newcastle University, Newcastle.*

*Alternatives to water privatisation. (2005) The role of transnationalism and social movements in reclaiming public water. Tenth international conference on alternative futures and popular protest. 30<sup>th</sup> March – 1<sup>st</sup> April 2005. Manchester: Metropolitan University.*

*De-privatising water: A collective beginning of societal restructuring of water services? (2005) Annual Conference: Privatising Public Goods Network, 16th December 2005. Berlin: Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.*

*Presentation Reclaiming Public Water. (2005) Water and the GATS. 13th April 2005. WEDC Conference. Loughborough: WEDC.*

*Water Movements and Collective Action. (2005) Making Global Civil Society: Grassroots Practice and Academic Theory of Globalisation from Below. Institute for Advanced Studies, 4th–6th November 2005. Lancaster: Lancaster University.*

*Water: A source of power and a source of liberation. (2004) Crisi Ambientali Globali, Acqua: Nuovo obiettivo strategico mondiale. Risorsa naturale o prodotto commerciale?. April 14th 2004. La Sapienza, University of Rome.*

### **Publications**

Terhorst, Philipp. (2009) Politizar la participacion en los serviciosde agua. In *Agua, un derecho y no una mercancia. Propuestas de la sociedad civil para un modela publico del agua*, (ed.) Delclos, Jaume. Barcelona: Ingenieros Sin Frontera; ICARIA, 2009: 123–36.

Hall, David, Lobina, andEmanuele Corral, Violeta, Hoedeman, Olivier, Terhorst, Philipp, Pigeon, Martin, and Satoko, Kishimoto. (2009). *Public-public partnerships (PUPs) in water. PSIRU, CEO, TNI.*

Terhorst, Philipp. (2008) ‘Reclaiming public water’: changing sector policy through globalization from below, *Progress in Development Studies* 8 (1): 103–114.



Hachfeld, David, Terhorst, Philipp, and Hoedeman, Olivier. (2008) *Progressive Public Water Management in Europe. In search of exemplary cases*. TNI; Reclaiming Public Water. 2008.

Terhorst, Philipp. (2005) Alternatives to water privatisation. The role of transnationalism and social movements in reclaiming public water. *Proceedings of the Tenth international conference on alternative futures and popular protest: a selection of papers from the conference*. Manchester: Manchester Metropolitan University. 30th March - 1st April 2005.

Balanya ,Belen; Brennan, Brid; Hoedeman, Olivier; Kishimoto, Satoko; Terhorst, Philipp (ed.) (2005) *Reclaiming Public Water, Achievements, struggles and visions from around the world*. Corporate Europe Observatory, Transnational Institute. Amsterdam (translated into 14 different languages, including Mandarin, Arabic, Spanish, Hindu)

Philipp Terhorst and Luis Sanchez Gomez . (2005) *Cochabamba: Public-Collective Partnership After the Water War*. In Balanya et al. (ed.) (2005).

Olivier Hoedeman, Kishimoto, Satoko and Terhorst, Philipp (2005) Public Water Services. Reversing the Tide Against Public Water . *Utilities Water & Wastewater International*, Vol. 20, No. 3, May 2005.

Terhorst, Philipp. (2004) Die Suche nach Alternativen zur Wasserprivatisierung. In Huffschmid, Jörg. (ed.) 2004. *Attac Privatisierungsreader*. VSA Verlag: Hamburg.



## Annex III: Filled Meta Matrix

<i>Temporal phases and conceptual categories</i>	Background and context				
<i>Parameters</i>	Precipitating factors for re-structuring and challenge	Role of NGOs Civil Society Participation	Urban WATSAN (institution and performance)	Popular Participation mechanisms and processes	POS: national and international external factors, transnational movement networks
<i>Name and cases overview</i>					
<i>Cochabamba</i> <i>Resistance to privatisation led to ongoing public-collective reform process</i>	Need for improvement of utility performance and service, international pressure and the issue of Misicuni	None in old public company, none in tendering, none in new company	Failing service delivery, need for expansion of service, water resource issues, corruption	Pre-existing popular organisations in water sector peri-urban and rural	First successful resistance in Bolivia for decades
<i>El Alto</i> <i>Contested re-municipalisation after popular mobilisation</i>	Policy and ideological drive, need for expansion into El Alto and improvement of company.	Decentralised state institutions channel participation in neighbourhoods,	Prior: efficiency-driven private sector reform with high social costs	High level of social mobilisation in general, no specific water-related mechanisms	Neoliberal government at time of contract, then political upheaval
<i>Perú</i> <i>National process with local fronts against municipal privatisations</i>	Policy decision by government	Very limited	Institutional and governance crisis, low performance of most utilities	In a few places local social movements exist on urban water issues	Toledo government with clear privatisation agenda. Almost all other parties in election campaign for June election similar line.
<i>Porto Alegre</i> <i>Utility reform within broader gov. policy package</i>	Favourable and stable political context	Deliberative Council since 1961 for participation and social control  Participatory Budget since 1989	Functioning, expanding public service	Change in participation through electoral politics and PT	Conducive political environment (PT, participatory budget)



<i>Temporal phases and conceptual categories</i>	Background and context				
<i>Parameters</i>	Precipitating factors for re-structuring and challenge	Role of NGOs Civil Society Participation	Urban WATSAN (institution and performance)	Popular Participation mechanisms and processes	POS: national and international external factors, transnational movement networks
<i>Name and cases overview</i>					
<i>Olavanna, Kerala</i> <i>Community management through politicisation and link to governments</i> <i>Not urban but municipal</i>	Community's need to access water	Context of community management	? (meaning data not gathered)	Context of community management	Political env favourable: Kerala state government  After initial project, the People's Plan Campaign by the LDF and devolution and participation campaign
<i>Grenoble</i> <i>Re-municipalisation</i>	French model	Representative, liberal democratic system	Small town , good performance, low level of technical difficulty	None prior	Transparency and Anti-corruption law in 1993
<i>Colombia Bogotá</i> <i>Public sector commercialisation and opposition</i>	?	?	Public utility with good performance and coverage under municipal control with new public management and commercialisation	?	?
<i>Venezuela Caracas</i>	Highly politicised society  With Chavez government, new popular participatory campaigns	Complex role of civil society, highly political	El Ninho 98: draught  Technical challenges	Complex role of participation, highly political	Election of Hugo Chavez changed protest against water systems into constructive phase



<i>Temporal phases and conceptual categories</i>	Background and context				
<i>Parameters</i>	Precipitating factors for re-structuring and challenge	Role of NGOs Civil Society Participation	Urban WATSAN (institution and performance)	Popular Participation mechanisms and processes	POS: national and international external factors, transnational movement networks
<i>Name and cases overview</i>					
<i>Brazil Recife</i>	Brazilian experience with participatory budget and such like	?	1.5 mill capital of Pernambuco state, 2/3 poverty and large sewage problem  Lack of control and regulation of municipality to state-level company Compesa who provided service	?	Election of PT into municipal government



	Hegemonic Restructuring		Opposition/Resistance to hegemonic restructuring and/ or challenge for alternative				Structural and procedural power
	Type of re-structuring	Elements of restructuring	Precipitating Factors	Type of Movement	Strategies, Repertoires	Actors, Organisational Forms	
Cochabamba, Bolivia	Concession contract to int. consortium  Required new law to legalise	Tariff hikes Expropriation of community systems  No significant improvement or investment	Refusal by city gov. and company to reduce tariffs	Mixed community and trade union  Hardly any political	First political intervention in legal framework  Then strikes and blockades over prolonged period of time  Violence	Coordination between urban/ peri-urban and rural popular groups and trade unions across traditional fault lines  Horizontal network form	Achieved through revision of law, acceptance of departure of private and consequent take over of utility by new board in which Coordinadora was present.  General manager elected by Coordinadora
El Ato, Bolivia	Concession contract to SUEZ	Participation strategy of private concessionaire  Apparently semi-successful restructuring and partial expansion into El Alto,	Price increase for water commission in El Alto, perception of incompleti on of required expansion, refusal by gov and AdI to comply to popular demands,	Community movement	Street blockade, hunger strike, paro of el alto,	FEJUVE el alto  Community organisations in El Alto	Structural power achieved through mobilisation in form of two 2 Commission. Little procedural power in audit, though creation of audit on basis of structural power.



	Hegemonic Restructuring		Opposition/Resistance to hegemonic restructuring and/ or challenge for alternative				Structural and procedural power
	Type of re-structuring	Elements of restructuring	Precipitating Factors	Type of Movement	Strategies, Repertoires	Actors, Organisational Forms	
Lima, Peru	<p>Management contract in Lima</p> <p>One company under concession contract to Argentinian Company</p> <p>Primary water law under revision with priv. on the agenda</p> <p>Six companies on the list for privatisation</p>	<p>Different municipal cases plus national legislation plus policy</p> <p>Tumbe privatisation: private investment did not occur but 23 mill US\$ of int. public money.</p> <p>In Timbra scheduled for feb. and in Guancaluo in April . here with resource commercialisation as well.</p> <p>Guinzajo (?)</p>	Privatisation	Trade union primarily, but mixed mainly trade union with national commission for the defence of water and life	<p>Local mobilisations,</p> <p>National policy level interventions</p> <p>Jornadas de defensa al agua for 26<sup>th</sup> of Jan</p> <p>Church statements</p>	<p>national commission for the defence of water and life</p> <p>local fronts</p> <p>based on union money and initiative but comprising larger civil society groups</p> <p>only one small party of the left against water privatisation</p> <p>church</p>	<p>No power so far apart from voice</p> <p>Commission</p>
Porto Alegre, Brazil	- (meaning category no applicable)	-	-	After counter-hegemonic reform, the utility managers took on protagonist role in movement	-	-	<p>Political movement through PT in local government with direct impact on utility</p> <p>participatory budgeting.</p>



	Hegemonic Restructuring		Opposition/Resistance to hegemonic restructuring and/ or challenge for alternative				Structural and procedural power
	Type of re-structuring	Elements of restructuring	Precipitating Factors	Type of Movement	Strategies, Repertoires	Actors, Organisation al Forms	
<i>Olanva, Kerala</i>	-	-	-	<p>Community movement</p> <p>With later support by decentralise d state institutions (pantchayat)</p> <p>Across typical social, political divides</p>	<p>Political and civil protest to start project</p> <p>Pantchayat involved in one hamlet and district level</p>	<p>Community groups</p> <p>Pantchayat</p>	?



	Hegemonic Restructuring		Opposition/Resistance to hegemonic restructuring and/ or challenge for alternative				Structural and procedural power
	Type of re-structuring	Elements of restructuring	Precipitating Factors	Type of Movement	Strategies, Repertoires	Actors, Organisational Forms	
Grenoble, France	1989 privatisation along French model , that was later declared illegal.	Corruption by local government and Suez	?	Mixed by political and consumer, union and community	<p>Before privatisation: Campaigns and strikes, user mobilisation</p> <p>After privatisation: Public meetings</p> <p>Collective Campaign</p> <p>Spot checks of water bills</p> <p>Demonstration of corruption</p> <p>Long-term legal action : events in 87-90, revealed in 93 and sentenced in 97/98</p>	<p>Members of the Green Party</p> <p>User Association (SOS water)</p> <p>Local Movemetrn (ADES)</p> <p>Social movement network or association.</p> <p>These associations remain today in control function fo utlity (to check out)</p>	<p>Court rulings</p> <p>Political process in local parliament</p>



	Hegemonic Restructuring		Opposition/Resistance to hegemonic restructuring and/ or challenge for alternative				Structural and procedural power
	Type of re-structuring	Elements of restructuring	Precipitating Factors	Type of Movement	Strategies, Repertoires	Actors, Organisational Forms	
Colombia	Commercialisation and international extension of public utility	Outsourcing Labour relations Aguas de Botogá Internacional	Contract for treatment plant to Veolia	Political initiative  emerging  other actors too  ?	Electoral politics  ?	Political opposition by municipal government and district council with aim to reverse trend   Civil opposition by CENSAT: consumer groups, env. And popular groups (national level movement)	?
Venezuela	-	-	-	Political-community	Electoral politics  Community organisation	State institutions and popular organisation	Chavez' government delegated power to water team
Recife, Brazil	Privatisation proposal by state and int. donors	1999 State gov. and decision to priv Compesa with WB support and credit.  Second attempt  Municipality in contractual relation with Compesa for service rendition	Loan negotiation with WB for Recife and Olinda privatisation that was facilitated by state gov.	Political	Political veto by municipal government  Creation of WATSAN department	Municipal Government opposed privatisation  Creation of WATSAN department	Local government assured political feasibility



	Alternative Proposal			Alternative Restructuring	
	Development of alternative proposals	Form/ Content of proposal	Implementation of alternative path of development	Type of re- structuring	Elements of restructuring
Cochabamba, Bolivia	<p>Not during initial mobilisation</p> <p>2 year period of transition where new model was developed by Coordinadora</p> <p>Professional, leaders etc and consultation? process</p> <p>Stalemate over 2 years of indecisive changes</p>	<p>Elections of 3 board members by secret vote of populace of Cochabamba.</p> <p>Public-collective partnership in the making</p>	<p>Implementation of first, downgraded changes</p> <p>Formation of ASICA-SUR</p> <p>End of 2005 new impetus through pressure of ASICA-SUR</p> <p>Little popular attention and support in later years after water war</p>	<p>1<sup>st</sup> phase: recuperation</p> <p>2 a phase: restructuring and self-organisation</p> <p>2 b phase: stalemate</p> <p>3<sup>rd</sup> phase: re-initialisation of change process</p>	<p>Resource contract</p> <p>Internal</p> <p>Legalisation with</p> <p>Grant by IADB and</p> <p>Expansion plans</p> <p>Discussion of structures</p> <p>public-collective partnership</p> <p>expansion of concession zone</p>
El Ato, Bolivia	<p>Group of professionals close to community organisation did consultation process with population and leadership of El Alto and agreed on new model</p> <p>Other model proposals by city governments as psp forms</p> <p>At least one other proposal by professionals without weight.</p>	<p>Public-collective model proposal by FEJUVE El Alto</p> <p>PSP proposal by La Paz gov. with remaining SUEZ participation</p>	<p>Via audit of concession (ongoing) and then decision in commission established during Jan mobilisation</p>	<p>Not clear yet</p>	<p>Not clear yet</p>



Alternative Proposal				Alternative Restructuring	
	Development of alternative proposals	Form/ Content of proposal	Implementation of alternative path of development	Type of re- structuring	Elements of restructuring
Lima, Peru	<p>Gov primary water law reform was stopped and now political process for more participatory creation of law and content without commodification</p> <p>Each local front developed/develops alternative proposal and Commission assists</p> <p>Support from external experts and socialisation in localities</p> <p>Lack of resources slows down process</p>	Public Sector reform without recourse to privatisation that addresses especially finance issues (?)	Not yet implemented but used of political tool	-	-
Porto Alegre, Brazil	?	?	?	<p>Public Utility Reform</p> <p>Initiated 1989 (?)</p>	<p>Corporatisation of utility</p> <p>Policy change (pro-poor, inclusion)</p> <p>Service objectives (sustainability, expansion)</p> <p>Progressive tariff and reinvestment system</p> <p>Lack of external finance for further expansion</p> <p>Labour inclusion</p> <p>User offices around the city</p>



	Alternative Proposal			Alternative Restructuring	
	Development of alternative proposals	Form/ Content of proposal	Implementation of alternative path of development	Type of re- structuring	Elements of restructuring
<i>Olanva, Kerala</i>	Inspiration from existing practice of sharing in other public services, electricity	Water project (well) with beneficiary committee  People's initiative (labour, monitoring)	With People's Plan Campaign, the community project got institutionalised backing with local planning and panchayat participation initiatives	Community management project initiated by political protest	Beneficiary committees, pump operator and local expertise  Threat of World Bank influence taking by funding routes  State and professional relations sometimes problematic  Threat of government push towards privatisation
<i>Grenoble, France</i>	Re-municipalisation	Demand for "genuine local public water service choices"	Through decision of local parliament of municipality	Municipal Company (?)	Participation by users and employees, user consultation commission
<i>Colombia</i>	?	?	C. stalled and hindered by regulatory interference and legal issues	Tucuman contract terminated  Post-Enron Azurix in province of B.A by gov. and workers participation	?



	Alternative Proposal			Alternative Restructuring	
	Development of alternative proposals	Form/ Content of proposal	Implementation of alternative path of development	Type of re- structuring	Elements of restructuring
Venezuela	<p>Water Team created March 99 and workshop in Caracas on communal management</p> <p>Experience of 93-96 municipal gov of "mesas técnicas" in Antinomo neighbourhood considered</p>	<p>Water Technical Tables and Communal Councils</p> <p>Acknowledgement of need for communal organisation</p> <p>Communities, elected local gov., water company, local authorities etc engaged. in baseline data creation</p>	So far: five years of process	<p>Spread to almost all public water companies in Veneuela.</p> <p>Differences according to companies</p> <p>Extension of process to water resources</p> <p>Process towards cooperatives and more direct community control and active contribution</p>	<p>??</p> <p><i>i.e. Zulia, Suese?</i></p>
Recife, Brazil	<p>First Municipal Conference on Water and Sanitation</p> <p>Seven month process in 2001 and 2002</p>	<p>160 decisions in opposition to privatisation</p> <p>Retain Compesa</p> <p>Create municipal council for WATSAN</p> <p>Participatory budgeting</p> <p>Key: municipal council with 25% gov, 25% workers, 50 citizens : rebalancing power</p>	<p>Concession contract between Compesa and city in the making</p> <p>Problems with resistance to change in Compesa</p>	<p>Creation of WATSAN department in Recife</p> <p>?</p>	<p>Credit by WB granted after negotiation by Recife with WB to public company and thus condition was reversed.</p> <p>?</p>



	Effects and Consequences			Movement Impact
	Movement-Reflected Lessons	Changing roles of member of movement sector and others (i.e. water organisations)	WATSAN Result and affect on public service characteristics, participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reactive</li> <li>Proactive</li> <li>Procedural</li> </ul> According to phases
Cochabamba, Bolivia	<p>Not ready for alternatives during 2000.</p> <p>Institutional change ongoing learning and formation process for popular groups</p>	<p>After protest, turn to creative power but lack of institutional counter-power meant slow change and role remained instead of mover of changer behind expectations</p> <p>ASICA-SUR</p>	<p>Slow improvement, though existent, not totally innovative</p> <p>External dependency on finance made delivery of promises impossible till end of 2005</p>	<p>1<sup>st</sup> phase: proactive when gaining access to utility</p> <p>2<sup>st</sup> phase: reactive or procedural</p> <p>3<sup>rd</sup> phase: proactive apparently.</p>
El Alto, Bolivia	?	<p>FEJUVE from antagonist to protagonist of new model</p> <p>From in-official voice to official representative of popular demands through commissions</p>	<p>So far no affect on company apart from stalemate and probably reduced innovative and investment force within concessionary who is still in charge</p>	<p>Proactive Impact but through regulatory system and legal restriction and int. trade pressures reduction to reaction and procedural at times.</p> <p>But basic tenor is pro-active.</p>
Peru	-  too early to know	<p>Union creates new syndicalism approach and becomes protagonist for public sector reform</p> <p>Commission and local fronts as developers of new forms of engagement and proposals</p> <p>Participation in legislative process</p>	-	<p>Reactive at point of stalling the legislative reform</p> <p>Procedural and very limited in respect to state for single privatisation or electoral system so far</p> <p>Socialisation of alternative proposals locally raises profile of issue and groups and create congruence between actors, builds the movement as it create new dynamic.</p>



	Effects and Consequences			Movement Impact
	Movement-Reflected Lessons	Changing roles of member of movement sector and others (i.e. water organisations)	WATSAN Result and affect on public service characteristics, participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reactive</li> <li>Proactive</li> <li>Procedural</li> </ul> According to phases
Porto Alegre, Brazil	?	DMAE through restructuring itself movement related actor with policy impact: DMAE since 2000 as vanguard of anti-privatisation in Brazil and abroad	<p>Policy and implementation of pro-poor and inclusion</p> <p>Improvement in service (expansion, sustainability)</p> <p>High level of service and growing sustainability</p> <p>Sewage collection and treatment from 27 in 2002 to 77 in 2007</p>	?
Kerala, India	<p>Peoples' initiative, Panchayat and state government can address problem</p> <p>Decentralisation and local capacity, ownership</p>	Olavanna used as example to change WB policy and spread scheme.	<p>60 new drinking water schemes for 50% of Olavanna village</p> <p>Similar sanitation initiatives</p> <p>Not extended to urban centres as scheme</p> <p>Model spreads</p>	<p>Popular and political process created community development programme with up-scaling.</p> <p>Proactive</p>



	Effects and Consequences			Movement Impact
	Movement-Reflected Lessons	Changing roles of member of movement sector and others (i.e. water organisations)	WATSAN Result and affect on public service characteristics, participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reactive</li> <li>Proactive</li> <li>Procedural</li> </ul> According to phases
Bogota, Colombia	<p>Access to information and independent analysis required to enable appropriate public policy choices</p> <p>Key issues are money flow quality of service</p>	Citizen Association part of monitoring and control of the company (he?)	Re-municipalisation led to better service	<p>Prosecution for corruption pressed by movement</p> <p>Within legal system there is little space for impact apart from initiating and investigation</p> <p>In political system, long-term process decisive</p> <p>Over 10 years procedural and reactive but then decision in parliament came and afterwards re-structuring... political element of movement was then proactive, the other elements unclear</p>
Venezuela	?	?	?	Implementation of Schemes and their diffusion
Recife, Brazil	?	<p>Municipality now involved in the municipal water, before not directly</p>	<p>Participation mechanisms</p> <p>Long-term strategy</p> <p>Credit by WB</p> <p>?</p>	<p>Implementation of scheme through political system at municipal level</p> <p>Creative power through water council</p>

Table 10 Filled-in meta matrix of typology development